

# Transmission of Divine Knowledge in the Sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran

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## Abstract

This thesis examines how divine knowledge is understood to be transmitted from God to human beings in the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 15:29–36; 17:38–19:5; 19:6–20:6; 20:7–22:42). By analyzing how the process of transmitting divine knowledge is depicted in these sources, the present study extends our knowledge of the identity of human mediators as well as the content of supposedly divinely revealed knowledge in late Second Temple society. A modern scholarly definition of divination is used as an aid to analysis, and how the transmission of divine knowledge is understood in the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms is discussed in relation to previous theories about the divinatory practices of the Second Temple period. The present study thus adds to the growing body of research that examines the role of psalms in the transmission of divine knowledge. The demarcations and structure of each Thanksgiving Psalm are discussed by noting scribal practices. When examining interpretations of earlier traditions in the Thanksgiving Psalms, the existence of a lexical parallel between the Thanksgiving Psalms and earlier compositions is taken as a starting point for analysis.

The sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms can be grouped together by their inclusion of various sapiential themes, forms, and vocabulary, but when it comes to the transmission of divine knowledge, they form a heterogeneous group. Four sapiential out of the seven Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 20:7–22:42) depict a teacher of wisdom as the mediator of divine knowledge, the divine knowledge itself described as a *mystery* (רִזְ) that concerns God's deterministic plan for his creation. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, God's deterministic plan are described in terms of two diverse ways.

Previously, several sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms have been studied in relation to either sapiential divination or inspired interpretation of earlier traditions; thus far, however, it has gone unnoticed that same psalms include features of both phenomena. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4, divine knowledge is acquired and transmitted through the implicit interpretation of earlier traditions, but, instead of making this process visible, the transmission of divine knowledge is described as a sapiential revelatory process. These earlier traditions concern especially the creation. Both “biblical” and “non-biblical” compositions are interpreted in the same psalms, indicating that the division to “biblical” and “non-biblical” arises more from modern conceptions of the Bible than from that of the late Second Temple sources themselves. Transmission of divine knowledge includes both inductive and intuitive aspects. The sapiential Thanksgiving

Psalms relate similar intuitive elements of the transmission of divine knowledge as the classical prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible. Nonetheless, the transmission of divine knowledge requires also elements that are more at home with inductive than with intuitive divination.

According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6, no mediator is needed to have access to divine knowledge. Specifically, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 depict the speaker as well as a wider group as recipients of divine knowledge. One possible explanation for why these psalms do not depict any human mediator is that they lack didactic elements, unlike 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4. The psalms 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6 contribute to our understanding of the role divine knowledge played in praising God as well as in eschatological beliefs. Having access to divine knowledge is needed, because proper praise should include a contemplation of God's deeds. The most illustrative example is provided by 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, where God is praised as the creator, but the creation itself is said to encompass divine mysteries. Thus, only those to whom God has revealed his mysteries can praise God appropriately. Additionally, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 highlights the importance of praising as well as the centrality of divinely revealed in eschatological beliefs. This psalm simultaneously expresses belief in realized and future eschatology by intentionally associating past and present with the future. The psalm 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17 depicts a liturgical experience, where eschatological rewards—such as divine knowledge and joint angelic-human praise—are experienced and rejoiced over already in this life.

On the other hand, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4 not only describe the transmission of divine knowledge; these psalms could themselves have functioned as vehicles in that transmission. The process of transmitting divine knowledge can be examined as part of the literary and oral transmission of these psalms. The composition of individual psalms as well as of collections containing different numbers of Thanksgiving Psalms testify to the practice of the scribal transmission of these psalms by copying, interpreting, and composing, thus transmitting also the mysteries written in them. As for oral transmission, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:3, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4 may testify to a mixture of liturgical, didactic, and divinatory functions. Because their teachings do not include just any kind of wisdom but divinely revealed wisdom, divine knowledge could have been understood to have been transmitted by performing these psalms. Reciting 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:3, 7:21–8:41, 9:1–10:4, and 20:7–22:42 could be understood also as spiritual exercises for the teacher of wisdom which prepared him for his role as a mediator of divine knowledge.

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Espoo, April 2019

Katri Antin

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Aim of This Study

This thesis is a study of how divine knowledge<sup>1</sup> is understood to be transmitted from God to human beings in the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms from Qumran (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 15:29–36; 17:38–19:5; 19:6–20:6; 20:7–22:42).<sup>2</sup> One of the most notable characteristics of the Thanksgiving Psalms is how the speaker repeatedly expresses thanks to God for having granted him divine knowledge. In addition to thanksgiving directed to God, the psalms also refer to divine–human communication in the opposite direction: speech directed from God to human beings.

This study contributes especially to two areas of study: first, to the vivid scholarly discussion on how divine knowledge was believed to have been transmitted in late Second-Temple (c. 250 BCE–70 CE) Jewish society.<sup>3</sup> Previous studies have demonstrated that scribes and sages played a pivotal role in the transmission of supposedly divine knowledge. This study offers insight into the role of sages in the transmission of divine knowledge through an analysis of seven Thanksgiving Psalms most likely composed by sages in the late second century BCE. In previous studies, one central question has been whether or not sages are depicted as mediators of divine knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms. While some scholars have maintained that the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms do not depict any kind of mediator of divine knowledge, others have argued that the Thanksgiving Psalms indeed describe sages acting as mediators of divine knowledge. As for the means of the transmission of divine knowledge in these psalms, some scholars have argued that sages gained access to divine knowledge through inspired interpretation of earlier traditions, while others have maintained that sages acquired divine knowledge through other (intellectual) means.<sup>4</sup> Such questions deserve exploration in a detailed and methodologically rigorous analysis. This study therefore contributes also to the methodological discussion on how to study the understanding of how divine knowledge was transmitted in late Second-Temple thinking.

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<sup>1</sup> By “divine knowledge,” I mean knowledge that is described as having divine origins.

<sup>2</sup> In the signum 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12, “1QH<sup>a</sup>” refers to the Thanksgiving Psalm manuscript found in Cave 1, “5” refers to the column, and “12” refers to the line. On the selection of sources, see 1.4, below.

<sup>3</sup> The word “Jewish” (Ἰουδαῖοι) is employed in this study to refer to the ethnic identity (“Judeans”) in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, not the religious identity. However, ethnic and religious identities are not mutually exclusive, as ethnic identity includes elements that modern scholars recognize as religious; Steve Mason, “Jews, Judaeans, Judaizing, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History,” *JSJ* 38 (2007): 510–12.

<sup>4</sup> On the different means of transmitting divine knowledge, see 1.3, below.

Second, this dissertation contributes to the understanding of the role of psalms<sup>5</sup> in the transmission of divine knowledge in the late Second Temple period. Many studies on psalms have convincingly demonstrated that these texts were believed to contain divinely revealed knowledge.<sup>6</sup> Thus, composing, studying, interpreting, and performing psalms may well have been understood as means for transmitting divine messages in the late Second Temple period.

This study is an important scholarly contribution to the field because studying the transmission of divine knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms is in the early stages of scholarly research. Previous research on the subject has been generally restricted to limited selection of sources as in most studies, the Thanksgiving Psalms—or only parts of them—have been given only brief analyses, together with other compositions from Qumran. Furthermore, many studies focus on the Thanksgiving Psalms located in the better-preserved middle part of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Such studies include James Bowley’s article “Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran” (1999), as well as several articles by George Brooke on prophecy in the Dead Sea Scrolls, published at the turn of the millennium.<sup>7</sup> Following Brooke’s and Bowley’s initial studies, the Thanksgiving Psalms have been studied alongside other roughly contemporary literature that combine sapiential and prophetic elements. Such studies include Alex Jassen’s lengthy monograph on prophecy in the Second Temple period (2007)<sup>8</sup> and Martti Nissinen’s article concerning the prophetic role of sages in the Dead Sea Scrolls (2008).<sup>9</sup> The studies of Edward Cook (2001) and Shane Allan Berg (2008) are also useful despite both scholars having expressed their reservations about the notion that prophetic and sapiential traditions intertwined.<sup>10</sup> To date, Berg’s doctoral dissertation on religious epistemologies

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<sup>5</sup> In this thesis, the word “psalm” is used not only to refer to the 150 psalms that belong now to the Masoretic Psalter but to different psalms and psalm collections that existed during the late Second Temple period.

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the role of psalms in transmitting divine knowledge, see 1.3.3, below.

<sup>7</sup> James E. Bowley, “Prophets and Prophecy at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scroll After Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment. Vol 2*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 354–78; George Brooke, “Prophecy,” *EDSS* 2:694–700; idem, “Prophecy and Prophets in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Looking Backwards and Forwards,” in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 151–65; idem, “Was the Teacher of Righteousness Considered to Be a Prophet?” in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding Biblical and Extra-biblical Prophecy*, ed. A. Lange and K. De Troyer; CBET 52 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 77–97.

<sup>8</sup> Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism*, STDJ 68 (Leiden: Brill, 2007). Cf. also Alex Jassen, “Prophets and Prophecy in the Qumran Community,” *AJS Review* 32 (2008): 299–334.

<sup>9</sup> Martti Nissinen, “Transmitting Divine Mysteries: The Prophetic Role of Wisdom Teachers in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo*, ed. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; SupJSJ 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 513–33.

<sup>10</sup> Edward Cook, “What Did the Jews of Qumran of Qumran Know about God and How Did They Know It? Revelation and God in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity Part 5, Vol 2. The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls. World View, Comparing Judaism*, ed. A. J. Avery-Peck et al.; HdO 57 (Leiden: Brill,

in the Thanksgiving Psalms is the widest survey of the transmission of divine knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms.

In addition to the use of a limited selection of sources in previous studies, the use of different theoretical frameworks by different scholars constitutes a challenge of its own when trying to develop a systematic view on the transmission of divine knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms. While some scholars link their research explicitly to the study of the different means of transmitting divine knowledge and approach the question using similar theoretical frameworks, as is attempted in this dissertation, other scholars have contributed to the discussion even when their primary interest lies elsewhere. Such studies include Samuel Thomas's monograph (2009) on mystery language in the Dead Sea Scrolls<sup>11</sup> and Judith Newman's comparative articles (2014) on inspired interpretation of earlier traditions in both the Thanksgiving Psalms and Paul's letters.<sup>12</sup> In her monograph (2004), Carol Newsom demonstrates how sectarian identity is constituted by a person's relation to knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms. She is thus not interested primarily in the transmission of divine knowledge yet, in working with the material, has made several observations that are relevant also for this study.<sup>13</sup> Related to the current project is also Angela Kim Harkins's monograph, in which Harkins reads the Thanksgiving Psalms as visionary reports (2012).<sup>14</sup> This dissertation thus builds on the past two decades of previous research.

The aim of this study is three-fold. First, I seek to portray how the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms. Most of these Thanksgiving Psalms have been neglected in previous scholarship on the transmission of divine knowledge, and, therefore, my analysis of these texts is an attempt to provide new data on the

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2001), 3–22"; Shane Allan Berg, "Religious Epistemologies in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The Heritage and Transformation of the Wisdom Tradition" (PhD diss., Yale University, 2008).

<sup>11</sup> Samuel I. Thomas, *The "Mysteries" of Qumran: Mystery, Secrecy, and Esotericism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, EJS 25 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2009). Cf. also Samuel I. Thomas, "Hearing the Vision: גלגל און in 4QInstruction and Qumran Sectarian Texts," *HeBAI* 5 (2016): 59–73.

<sup>12</sup> Judith H. Newman, "Speech and Spirit: Paul and the Maskil as Inspired Interpreters of Scripture," in *The Holy Spirit, Inspiration, and the Cultures of Antiquity: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. J. Frey and J. R. Levison; Ekstasis 5 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014); idem, "Covenant Renewal and Transformational Scripts in the Performance of the Hodayot and 2 Corinthians," in *Jesus, Paulus, und die Texte von Qumran*, ed. J. Frey and E. Edzard; WUNT 2 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 291–323. George Brooke discusses inspired interpretation in the Thanksgiving Psalms briefly in his article; see George J. Brooke, "Prophetic Interpretation in the Pesharim," in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. M. Henze (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012), 235–54; cf. 1.3.3, below.

<sup>13</sup> Carol A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, STDJ 52 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004).

<sup>14</sup> Angela Kim Harkins, *Reading with an "I" to the Heavens: Looking at the Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions*, Ekstasis 3 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2012).

issue. I analyze how the transmission of divine knowledge is understood in the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms by discussing passages that involve the four components needed for the transmission of divine knowledge to take place: 1) God, 2) the message, 3) the human mediator, and 4) the recipients. The analysis of the transmission process demonstrates that the seven Thanksgiving Psalms are not homogenous; these psalms in fact depict different kinds of transmission processes. In addition to the four components involved in the transmission of divine knowledge, how the transmission of such knowledge is depicted will be discussed in relation to previous studies on the topic in the Second-Temple context. Previously, the Thanksgiving Psalms have been discussed mostly in relation to sapiential divination, but I will examine the role of inspired interpretation of earlier traditions also as a means to transmit divine knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms.

The second aim of this study is to explain why the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted differently in different Thanksgiving Psalms. To do so, I study the transmission process evidenced in each psalm in relation to its overall structure and content. As noted above, earlier research on the topic suffer from readings of sources that have proven to be selective in nature. By analyzing each psalm as a unit, I argue that one can study how ideas about transmission of divine knowledge intersect with other ideas, such as praising God or teaching. I thus investigate in what situations the transmission of divine knowledge was believed to be able to take place and how the recitation of psalms might have played a role in that process.

The overall aim of this study is to bring the wider theoretical framework of divination<sup>15</sup> and the emic views provided by the ancient sources into a fruitful discussion. Because the transmission of divine knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms has been approach from various theoretical frameworks, it is necessary to define what is meant by transmission of divine knowledge. In this dissertation, a modern scholarly definition of divination is used to aid the analysis. For example, the four components I have described as identifying the transmission of divine knowledge is an analytical tool that draws on a definition of divination (cf. 1.2, below). In addition, the different means of transmitting divine knowledge are discussed in relation to inductive and intuitive forms of divination.

While the transmission of divine knowledge has proven to be a subject of considerable interest in biblical studies, research has tended to focus mainly on the monarchic period, because

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<sup>15</sup> In this thesis, the transmission of divine knowledge and divination are used as synonyms. On the definition of these terms used in this thesis, see 1.2, below.

the monarchic period was previously seen to be the golden age of prophecy.<sup>16</sup> The classical image of Israelite prophecy arises from the studies of Julius Wellhausen and Bernhard Duhm, of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Wellhausen and Duhm presented Israelite prophets as religious masterminds and moral heroes who played a crucial role in shaping the Israelite religion. This image of Israelite prophets did not arise from a systematic reading of the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible but from a selection of passages that were believed to contain the original message of the prophets. Especially Duhm used the literary critical method to distinguish the original words of the prophets from additions by later editors. The legacy of this method has persisted in modern scholarship, where the image of Israelite prophecy tends still to be based on a selective reading of the prophetic books. The archetype of the Israelite prophet is thus that of a free, oppositional prophet rather than that of the court prophet or cultic prophet who are also portrayed in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>17</sup> While the monarchic period was seen as the golden era of Israelite prophecy, the Persian period was seen as the time of decline and decay of prophecy. In fact, the scholarly consensus long persisted that prophecy had come to its end in the post-exilic period and that prophets were gradually replaced by apocalyptic visionaries and wisdom teachers.<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that this idea about the cessation of prophecy is not completely without evidence from ancient sources. For example, 1 Maccabees (9:27) has been interpreted as evidence that some segments of Jewish society believed that prophecy had ceased long before the Maccabean era.<sup>19</sup> Another example is provided by Josephus, who describes a qualitative difference between pre-exilic and post-exilic prophecy as resulting from a break in the succession of prophets after the exile (Ag. Ap. 1.41).<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Prophecy can be defined as one form of transmitting divine knowledge. On the definition of prophecy used in this thesis, see 1.2, below.

<sup>17</sup> Martti Nissinen, "Prophecy as Construct, Ancient and Modern," in *Thus Speaks Ishtar of Arbela: Prophecy in Israel, Assyria and Egypt in the Neo-Assyrian Period*, ed. R. P. Gordon and H. M. Barstad (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 24–31.

<sup>18</sup> For a review of previous scholarship, cf. Stephen L. Cook, *On the Question of the "Cessation of Prophecy" in Ancient Judaism*, TSAJ 145 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 10–45.

<sup>19</sup> 1 Macc 9:27: "So there was great distress in Israel, such as had not been since the time that prophets ceased to appear among them." The English translation of the biblical books (including the Apocrypha) in this study are given according to the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

<sup>20</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 11–15. Cf. also David E. Aune, *Prophecy in Early Christianity and the Ancient Mediterranean World* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1983), 103–6. Cook lists various ancient passages upon which the idea on the cessation of prophecy is based; Cook, *On the Question*, 5–9. Concerning the end of prophecy, cf. also Michael H. Floyd, "Introduction," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 1–6.

Recent critical reevaluation of these claims surrounding the cessation of prophecy has been fueled by the discovery of new textual sources. First, the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls in the 1940s and 1950s brought to light dozens of previously unknown Jewish compositions from around the turn of era. This new archive of texts sparked new interest in the transmission of divine knowledge, especially in the 1990s and early 2000s, when most of the Qumran Scrolls were published.<sup>21</sup> Bowley's article from 1999 can be viewed as one starting point for the study of prophecy in the Qumran Scrolls. In this article, Bowley concludes that some of the Scrolls attest to a belief in contemporary prophetic activity. According to Bowley, this view is evident in these texts from the condemnation of false prophets and the belief in God's spirit working among the righteous. Furthermore, none of the texts seems to express a belief in the cessation of prophecy.<sup>22</sup> Additionally, among the Qumran corpus have been found texts that refer to inductive divination—e.g., horoscopes and dream interpretation.<sup>23</sup> In fact, over the past two decades, the Qumran Scrolls have become common sources for the study of the transmission of divine knowledge in the late Second Temple period.<sup>24</sup> In addition to the Qumran Scrolls, other ancient Near Eastern texts have also contributed to the study of transmission of divine knowledge:<sup>25</sup> especially the Mari letters and the Neo-Assyrian state archives offer important comparanda.<sup>26</sup> As a result, the transmission of divine knowledge is now understood as a practice that has continued throughout history in different cultural contexts, and Israelite/Jewish practices are no longer seen to be as unique as previous scholarship held them to be. Comparative studies have helped in re-formulating a definition for the

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<sup>21</sup> The critical editions of the Qumran Scrolls (together with some other manuscripts from the Dead Sea area) are published in the *Discoveries from the Judaean Desert* series.

<sup>22</sup> Bowley, "Prophets and Prophecy," 375. In his 1994 article, Hans Barstad identifies traces of prophecy among the Dead Sea Scrolls, but the conclusions he draws from this are more cautious than Bowley's: "Our main conclusion, then, must be that we have hardly found one single text which unambiguously supports the information provided by Josephus: that there were some people among the Essenes 'who engage in the foretelling of things to come'"; Hans A. Barstad, "Prophecy at Qumran?" in *In the Last Days: on Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (Aarhus: University Press, 1994), 120.

<sup>23</sup> James C. VanderKam, "Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 340–53. VanderKam uses the terms (inductive) divination and mantic wisdom synonymously, giving 4Q186 as an example of a horoscope. More recently, 4Q186 has been studied by Mladen Popović from the perspective of physiognomy; Mladen Popović, *Reading the Human Body: Physiognomics and Astrology in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hellenistic-Early Roman Period Judaism*, STDJ 67 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 18–20.

<sup>24</sup> For the relevant literature, see 1.3, below.

<sup>25</sup> For recent comparative studies on ancient Near Eastern prophecy, see, e.g., Jonathan Stökl, *Prophecy in the Ancient Near East: A Philological and Sociological Comparison*, CHAN 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Martti Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy: Near Eastern, Biblical, and Greek Perspectives* (Oxford: University Press, 2017).

<sup>26</sup> For relevant ancient Near Eastern sources, see, e.g., Martti Nissinen, *Prophets and Prophecy in the Ancient Near East*, with Contributions by Choon-Leong Seow and Robert K. Ritner, SBLWAW 12 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003).

transmission of divine knowledge that is applicable to different historical and cultural contexts.<sup>27</sup> The comparative approach has been used also by recent studies of approximately contemporary ancient Jewish and Greek sources from the same geographical area.<sup>28</sup>

In modern scholarship, the history of ancient Jewish transmission of divine knowledge is no longer characterized in terms of an “end” or “decline” but by “change.”<sup>29</sup> This shift in scholarly lexicon has a lot to do with broader definitions of prophecy that have enabled the investigation of different kinds of revelatory activities under the same heading. While these broader definitions of prophecy do not precisely correspond with how prophecy was understood in ancient Jewish sources, the ancient evidence does not preclude the possibility of such an approach.<sup>30</sup> For example, the root נבא and its derivatives—used in the *Nevi'im* as a standard term for describing prophetic activity—are seldom used in later sources to describe the contemporary transmission of divine knowledge. The same applies to Jewish compositions written in Greek in relation to the word family derived from προφητεύω. Rather, נבא/προφητεύω and their derivatives are often used to describe prophets of the old, future prophets, or false contemporary prophets.<sup>31</sup> The absence of such terminology in the sources originating from the late Second Temple period has sometimes been interpreted as evidence that the practice of prophecy had come to an end. Contrary to this line of thought, L. Stephen Cook argues that some ancient Jewish sources testify to a belief in interim periods when prophets were silent.<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, not all ancient Jewish texts should be evaluated with biblical preconceptions in mind. That is, the absence of some traditional prophecy terminology in late compositions does not necessarily mean that these sources might not still attest to belief in the transmission of divine knowledge.<sup>33</sup> Notwithstanding, the absence of this key terminology has raised issues on methodology: how can one study transmission of divine knowledge and

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<sup>27</sup> Lena-Sofia Tiemeyer, “Recent Currents in Research on the Prophetic Literature,” *Expository Times* 119 (2007): 161–62. On the definition I use for the transmission of divine knowledge, see 1.2, below.

<sup>28</sup> Cf., e.g., Armin Lange, *Greek Seers and Israelite-Jewish Prophets*, VT 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Hanna Tervanotko, “Unreliability and Gender: Untrusted Female Prophets in Ancient Greek and Jewish Texts,” *JAJ* 6 (2016): 358–81. On the separate disciplinary approaches to biblical, ancient Near Eastern, and Ancient Greek prophecy, see Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy*, 6–10.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. already Aune, *Prophecy*, 103–6.

<sup>30</sup> Cook, *On the Question*, 181–83.

<sup>31</sup> Cook, *On the Question*, 174–76. On the use of the root נבא and its derivatives in the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Nissinen, “Transmitting,” 517–25.

<sup>32</sup> Cook, *On the Question*, 175–76.

<sup>33</sup> Nissinen, “Transmitting,” 513–25; cf. Martti Nissinen, “What is Prophecy An Ancient Near Eastern Perspective,” in *Inspired Speech: Prophecy in the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of Herbert B. Huffmon*, ed. J. Kaltner and L. Stulman; JSOTSup 378 (London: T&T Clark International, 2004), 17–20.

intermediaries when traditional prophetic terminology is not used? In response to this challenge, Alex Jassen has done extensive work to trace how the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in the late Second Temple period sources in comparison with older sources. His studies demonstrate, for example, that how classical prophets were depicted in late Second Temple period sources was affected by contemporary divinatory practices. In the sectarian Qumran compositions, the ancient prophets are presented as having participated in the gradual revelation of God's law that the members of the Qumran movement themselves were engaged in.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, it seems that, in the Second Temple period, there was a shift in both ancient practices and terminology used for describing the transmission of divine knowledge.

That both ancient and modern views on transmission of divine knowledge have changed over time sets a challenge to the scholar who wishes to do justice to the sources investigated. These shifts call upon scholars to define their terms carefully in order that they might be understood correctly. Thus, in recent scholarship, various terminology has been employed to describe the transmission of divine knowledge. This variegation reflects not only the various methodological approaches scholars have used but also the variation evidenced in the ancient sources themselves. Thus, in this introduction chapter, I provide a definition of divination to clarify how the different terms are used in the present study.

## 1.2 Transmission of Divine Knowledge as Divination

The central aspect of divination is the mediation of allegedly divine knowledge, a practice that contains four integral components: 1) the divinity that sends 2) a divine message and 3) a human messenger that delivers the message to 4) other human beings. The transmission process may additionally include a divine mediator between the divinity and the human mediator. Martti Nissinen argues that this definition can be used for defining any form of divination,<sup>35</sup> though the definition is itself based on Manfred Weippert's definition of ancient Near Eastern prophecy.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Alex P. Jassen, "The Presentation of Ancient Prophets as Lawgivers at Qumran," *JBL* 127 (2008): 335–37.

<sup>35</sup> Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy*, 10–23; cf. Stökl, *Prophecy*, 10–11.

<sup>36</sup> Manfred Weippert, *Götterwort in Menschenmund: Studien zur Prophetie in Assyrien, Israel und Juda*, FRLANT 252 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 231–32: "Bei religiöser Offenbarungsrede ist dann von Prophetie zu sprechen, wenn eine Person (a) in einem kognitiven Erlebnis (Vision, Audition, audiovisuelle Erscheinung, Traum o.ä.) der Offenbarung einer Gottheit oder mehreren Gottheiten teilhaftig wird und ferner (b) sich durch die betreffende(n) Gottheit(en) beauftragt weiß, das ihr Geoffenbarte in sprachlicher Fassung (als 'Prophetie', 'Prophetenspruch') oder in averbalen Kommunikationsakten ('symbolischen' oder 'Zeichenhandlungen') an einen Dritten (oder Dritte), den (die) eigentlichen Adressaten, weiterzuleiten." Weippert's definition was published originally in 1988; Manfred Weippert, "Aspekte israelitischer Prophetie im Lichte verwandter Erscheinungen des Alten Orients," in *Ad bene et fideliter seminandum: Festgabe für Karlheinz Deller zum 21. Februar 1987*, ed. G. Mauer and U. Magen; AOAT 220 (Kevelaer:



Nevertheless, as David Aune has argued already in 1983, prophecy is one form of divination.<sup>37</sup> In earlier research, it was customary to highlight the difference between inductive divination and prophecy, an approach aligned with the negative evaluations of certain forms of inductive divination in several passages of the Hebrew Bible and in which prophecy is described as the preferred form of communication between God and his people.<sup>38</sup> Academics have thus claimed that prophecy was practiced by Israelites/Jews, while inductive divination was practiced mostly by other nations. However, comparative studies suggest that the two practices are not so different. Namely, inductive divination and prophecy share the same components, but the *means* of transmission differs. Inductive divination requires material objects, like a liver, that is examined to discover the divine will, requiring professional skills that are acquired through education. In contrast, prophets need no formal education, as divine messages arrive to them intuitively, even in sleep.<sup>39</sup>

Throughout this study, the transmission of divine knowledge is referred to as divination, by which I wish to avoid unintentional claims about the means of transmission (cf. Table 1, below). When there is a need to qualify the means of transmission, the terms inductive divination and intuitive divination are used.<sup>40</sup> I find the use of the word “prophecy” somewhat problematic in the context of the late Second Temple period for two reasons. First, as mentioned above, the Hebrew and Greek words that are rendered “prophecy” in English are seldom used to describe contemporary divinatory practice in the late Second Temple period Jewish sources. Therefore, the word “prophecy” may be confusing, even if it is used as an etic category. Second, and more importantly, prophecy refers usually to intuitive methods, but previous studies on transmitting divine knowledge in the Second Temple period indicate that the division between inductive and intuitive forms of divination was not as discrete as modern scholars have taken it to be. While the (dis)continuation of prophecy and the use of classical prophetic terminology are interesting research topics, limiting the discussion to one form of intermediation can lead only to a selective reading of

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Butzon & Bercker and Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988), 289–90. Prophecy is taken as a form of the mediation of divine messages also in several other studies, such as in David L. Petersen, “Defining Prophecy Prophecy and Prophetic Literature,” in *Prophecy in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context: Mesopotamian, Biblical, and Arabian Perspectives*, ed. M. Nissinen; SBLSymS 13 (Atlanta, Society of Biblical Literature, 2000), 39.

<sup>37</sup> Aune, *Prophecy*, 82. Similarly, Lester L. Grabbe, *Priests, Prophets, Diviners, Sages: A Socio-historical Study of Religious Specialists in Ancient Israel* (Valley Forge, PA.: Trinity Press International, 1995), 138–41.

<sup>38</sup> The distinction between inductive and intuitive forms of divination can be found also in Ancient Greek and ancient Mesopotamian sources; Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy*, 15–18.

<sup>39</sup> Prophecy, dreams, and visions are separate categories. Although prophets can see dreams and visions, not every visionary or dreamer can be said to be a prophet; Nissinen, “What is Prophecy,” 21–22.

<sup>40</sup> Note that “divination” is thus not used to refer only to “technical/inductive divination” as is often the case in secondary literature.

late Second Temple sources.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, the term prophecy is not used here to describe the transmission of divine in the Thanksgiving Psalms. Nevertheless, as many studies in which the term prophecy is used for the late Second Temple period context examine the same phenomena and sources as those studied in this dissertation, in this respect, this study does participate in the recent boom of studies on Second-Temple prophecy.

Two forms of divination—sapiential divination and inspired interpretation—combine characteristics from both inductive and intuitive divination. These two concepts arise from Alex P. Jassen’s study *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (2007), in which Jassen identifies “inspired exegesis” and “sapiential revelation” as the primary means of transmitting divine knowledge in the Second Temple period.<sup>42</sup> In inspired exegesis, the human mediator transmits divine knowledge by “reading, writing, and interpretation of Scripture.”<sup>43</sup> Sapiential revelation, instead, refers to the transmission of divinely revealed wisdom. According to Jassen, the revealed wisdom generally concerns the “divine order of the universe and the course of God’s sovereignty over the world.”<sup>44</sup> These general definitions of inspired exegesis and sapiential revelation apply also to the terms that I use—inspired interpretation and sapiential divination—but there are also some notable differences: Jassen does not discuss inspired exegesis and sapiential revelation in relation to the definition of divination, while I wish to examine inspired interpretation and sapiential divination as divinatory practices that combine inductive and intuitive elements. Therefore, section 1.3, which discusses inspired interpretation and sapiential divination, incorporates also ancient sources and modern studies not discussed by Jassen.

It is worth noting that the definition of divination used in this dissertation is a scholarly construct and, as such, cannot be found in any ancient source. The definition serves as an aid for the scholar to analyze and compare different types of sources as well as to communicate his/her findings to other scholars. Notwithstanding, as a modern scholarly definition, this definition does arise from the reading of ancient sources that do seem to describe, for example, the diviner as

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<sup>41</sup> Interesting studies on mediation of divine knowledge end up sometimes in a stalemate because the ancient source does not mention the words “prophecy” or “prophet”, or because the source does not otherwise meet the criteria of prophecy set by the scholar. In section 1.3., cf. e.g. the discussion concerning the figures of Ben Sira, David, and the wisdom teacher.

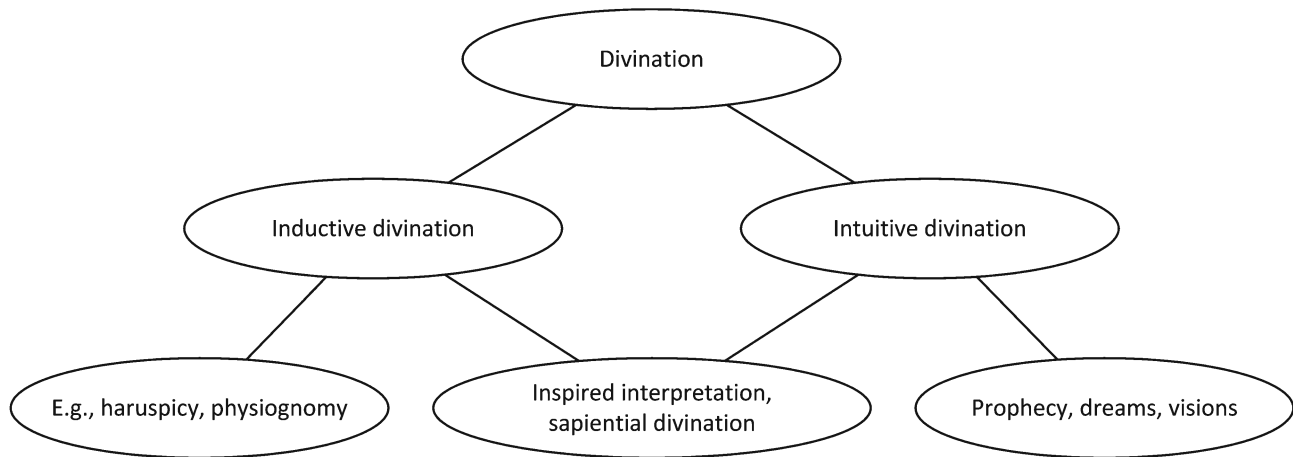
<sup>42</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 20–23.

<sup>43</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 203.

<sup>44</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 241.

the mouthpiece of God and some form of differentiation (or connection) between inductive and intuitive forms of divination.<sup>45</sup>

*Table 1. Different Forms of Divination*<sup>46</sup>



The final note on terminology concerns the interface between prophecy, wisdom, and apocalypticism.<sup>47</sup> In the Hellenistic period, the revelation of divine knowledge was a widespread motif that could be found in compositions representing different cultures, intellectual traditions, and literary genres.<sup>48</sup> For this reason, the transmission of divine knowledge can be studied as part prophecy, part wisdom, and part apocalypticism.<sup>49</sup> That is, prophetic, sapiential, and apocalyptic compositions are all scribal products, and different ideologies and literary genres were in constant interaction in the late Second Temple period.<sup>50</sup> As pointed out by George Brooke, “The intellectual

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy*, 4–5, 19–20.

<sup>46</sup> A similar diagram (albeit without reference to sapiential divination and inspired interpretation), is presented by Stökl, *Prophecy*, 10.

<sup>47</sup> Apocalypticism can be defined as a worldview characteristic of apocalypses that can nevertheless be found in other literary genres; John J. Collins, “What is Apocalyptic Literature?” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. J. J. Collins (Oxford: University Press, 2014), 1. The term “wisdom” usually refers to compositions that demonstrate a pedagogical intent as well as take part in a so-called sapiential discourse that reflects certain ideas, literary forms, and terminology; Matthew Goff, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. J. J. Collins (Oxford: University Press, 2014), 56. Sapiential characteristics are discussed further in 1.3–4, below.

<sup>48</sup> Goff, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 65.

<sup>49</sup> On compositions originating from the Late Second Temple period, see 1.3, below.

<sup>50</sup> Lester Grabbe rejects the chronological or developmental approach to the relationship between prophecy, wisdom, and apocalypticism; Lester L. Grabbe, “Prophetic and Apocalyptic: Time for New Definitions—and New Thinking,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, the Apocalyptic, and Their Relationships*, ed. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak; JSPSup 46 (London: T&T Clark, 2003), 129–30. Concerning the relationship between wisdom literature and apocalypticism, see, e.g., Benjamin G. Wright III and Lawrence M. Wills, eds., *Conflicted Boundaries in Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, SBLSymS 35 (Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005); Goff, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism.” Regarding the boundaries between prophecy and apocalypticism, see Lester L. Grabbe and Robert D. Haak, eds., *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, Apocalyptic, and their Relationship*, JSPSup 46 (London: T&T Clark

transformation of prophecy reflected in the Qumran library is at home not in any one social location, but distinctive combination of apocalyptic, priestly, scribal and mantological concerns, the interrelationships of which scholars are only just beginning to appreciate.”<sup>51</sup> This observation holds true also for the Thanksgiving Psalms. Therefore, it is suggested in this dissertation that the transmission of divine knowledge depicted in the Thanksgiving Psalms, as well as in other Second-Temple literature, should be examined from the wider theoretical framework of divination.<sup>52</sup>

In the following section, I turn to a review of recent studies on transmitting divine knowledge in the late Second Temple period to situate the transmission of divine knowledge depicted in the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms in a wider context.

### 1.3 Inspired Interpretation and Sapiential Divination in the Late Second Temple Period

Scholars have increasingly drawn attention to the role scribes and sages played in the transmission of divine knowledge in the Second Temple period. In this section, I review recent research on the transmission of divine knowledge pertaining to the study of the Thanksgiving Psalms. Therefore, inductive methods of divination, such as physiognomy, are excluded from this discussion.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, this section focuses on research that investigates Jewish sources from the late Second Temple period, as these sources provide an apt background for my own research—referring, when

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International, 2003); Hindy Najman, “Inheritance of Prophecy in Apocalypse,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. J. J. Collins (Oxford: University Press, 2014). On the interface between wisdom and prophecy, see 1.3, below.

<sup>51</sup> Brooke, “Prophecy,” 163. The Qumran corpus demonstrates that the transmission of divine knowledge depicted in the late Second Temple period is not restricted to apocalyptic models; Jassen, *Mediating*, 198–203. For example, the Thanksgiving Psalms do not depict mediating angels or otherworldly journeys, motifs characteristic of the transmission of divine knowledge in apocalypses. However, the Thanksgiving Psalms does include elements that can also be found in apocalypses. Most notably, the human mediator is not called a prophet but a wise man, as in 1 Enoch and the book of Daniel (e.g., 1 En 92:1; Dan 1:17). In addition, the divine message is often characterized as a mystery (רִזְיָה), a term that appears also in 1 Enoch and the book of Daniel. The Thanksgiving Psalms also betray a deterministic worldview and eschatological interests, perspective that belong also to the apocalyptic worldview, cf. Mladen Popović, “Apocalyptic Determinism,” in *Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. J. J. Collins (Oxford: University Press, 2014), 261–63. Goff describes determinism as another motif (besides revelation) that was widespread during the Hellenistic period; Goff, “Wisdom and Apocalypticism,” 65.

<sup>52</sup> How divine knowledge is transmitted in apocalypses can also be studied from the wider theoretical framework of divination, as suggested by Lester Grabbe; Grabbe, “Prophetic and Apocalyptic,” 117, 128. John Collins, for example, does not object to the notion that both prophecy and apocalypticism could be represented as a wider phenomenon but does find the term “divination” confusing, as he associates the term with inductive methods of transmitting divine knowledge; John J. Collins, “Prophecy, Apocalypse, and Eschatology: Reflections on the Proposals of Lester Grabbe,” in *Knowing the End from the Beginning: The Prophetic, Apocalyptic, and their Relationship*, ed. L. L. Grabbe and R. D. Haak; JSPSup 46 (London: T&T Clark International, 2003), 50–51.

<sup>53</sup> However, physiognomy was an important practice in the communities that produced the Thanksgiving Psalms and may have been practiced by sages; Popović, *Reading*, 229–32.

needed, also to sources originating from other periods and cultures.<sup>54</sup> I begin with a discussion of inspired interpretation of earlier traditions as a means of transmitting divine knowledge (1.3.1), after which I discuss sapiential divination (ch. 1.3.2). In the third subsection (1.3.3), I discuss both inspired interpretation and sapiential divination in relation to psalms and therefore also to previous research on the transmission of divine knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms.

### 1.3.1 Inspired Interpretation

Different terms—like literary prophecy, prophetic divination, scribal divination, and revelatory exegesis—have been used by modern scholars to describe the form of divination whereby a scribe transmits divine messages by interpreting old oracles believed to carry messages to a contemporary audience and which can be discovered through skilled interpretation. However devoid of divine contribution this may seem to the modern reader, such interpretation was understood by contemporaries as “a divinatory act inspired by God.”<sup>55</sup>

Such literary prophecy has also been observed in and the terminology applied to the Latter Prophets of the Hebrew Bible. Instead of seeing these compositions as collections of oral prophecies, scholars have studied them increasingly as scribal products that have continuously accrued interpretation and edits. That is, even though these compositions depict oral prophets like Isaiah, many oracles in fact originate from the scribe, who believed he could unfold divine will and act as a messenger of God. All oracles preserved to modern day are furthermore written down by scribes, even though some of these oracles are supposed to have originated from oral performances. Thus, Armin Lange’s distinction between “literary prophecy” and “written prophecy” is useful: some oracles are “written” down, for instance, practical reasons, like preservation in memory. In literary prophecy, on the other hand, the message is not merely written down but is itself an interpretation that exists in its own context.<sup>56</sup> It has been suggested that the shift from oral to literary prophecy was initiated by the changing political and social circumstances of the Persian

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<sup>54</sup> Inspired interpretation, e.g., is not unfamiliar to ancient Greek, Roman, or Christian sources; Jassen, *Mediating*, 204.

<sup>55</sup> Martti Nissinen, “Pesharim as Divination: Qumran Exegesis, Omen interpretation, and Literary Prophecy,” in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding Biblical and Extra-biblical Prophecy*, ed. A. Lange and K. De Troyer; CBET 52 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 58–60. Even though the interpretation of oracles is known also from ancient Greek texts, such interpretations or interpreters are not considered divinely inspired in the way their Jewish counterparts are; Hanna Tervanotko, “Reading God’s Will? Function and Status of Oracle Interpreters in Ancient Jewish and Greek Texts,” *DSD* 24 (2017): 444–45.

<sup>56</sup> Armin Lange, “Literary Prophecy and Oracle Collection: A Comparison between Judah and Greece in Persian Times,” in *Prophecy, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 249–50.

period. The scribes who formed the literate elite in Yehud studied the patterns of God's deeds from old oracles to explain how God worked in their days. By studying the patterns of divine-human interaction of the past, they could prophesy future events.<sup>57</sup> While oral prophecy probably was still practiced throughout Jewish antiquity, literary works—composed by scribes—show defer to literary prophecy rather than oral prophecy, resulting in a gap in the record for oral prophecy.<sup>58</sup>

Many compositions from the Qumran corpus that were previously unknown demonstrate that inspired interpretation continued to flourish in the Hellenistic and early Roman periods (c. 333 BCE–70 CE). New oracles continued to be presented as the original words of prophets, but instead of incorporating these new oracles into existing compositions, new compositions were themselves created. Such compositions were nevertheless attributed to various prophets, including Daniel, David, Ezekiel, Elijah, Elisha, Jeremiah, Moses, and Samuel.<sup>59</sup> In Pseudo-Ezekiel texts and the Temple Scroll, for example, old oracles are interpreted and altered to the extent that they have become new oracles. Notwithstanding, these oracles are represented as part of the original revelations.<sup>60</sup> Jubilees is an interesting composition for this reason, as it portrays itself as a revelation to Moses on Mt. Sinai; the existence of the first Torah is thus acknowledged, and Jubilees is to be understood as the second Torah. At the same time, the second Torah is supposed to antedate the first Torah, because the second Torah was inscribed on the heavenly tablets long before the first Torah was given to Moses on Mt. Sinai.<sup>61</sup>

The growing importance of scribal interpretative activity is reflected also in the changing portrayal of intermediaries as inspired interpreters. In Daniel 9, Daniel gives an inspired interpretation of Jeremiah's prophecy of seventy years of Exile (Jer 25:9–12). At the beginning of the chapter, Daniel explains that he has examined writings (בינתי בספרים) and discovered that God had revealed to Jeremiah for how long Jerusalem would be desolate. Daniel's reference to having

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<sup>57</sup> Michael H. Floyd, "The Production of Prophetic Books in the Early Second Temple Period," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 285–92.

<sup>58</sup> Martti Nissinen, "Dubious Image of Prophecy," in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 41.

<sup>59</sup> Cf., e.g., Pseudo-Daniel (4Q243–45), Apocryphon of David (2Q22), Apocryphon of Samuel-Kings (6Q9), Pseudo-Ezekiel<sup>a–d</sup>, Paraphrase of Kings (4Q382), Apocryphon of Elisha (4Q418a), Jeremiah Apocrypha A–C<sup>a–f</sup>, Words of Moses (1Q22), Apocryphon of Moses (4Q375–77), and Vision of Samuel (4Q160); Brooke, "Prophetic Interpretation," 238–39. In late Second-Temple literature, Daniel is presented as a prophet; Jassen, *Mediating*, 214. On David as an intermediary, see 1.3.3, below.

<sup>60</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 237–40.

<sup>61</sup> Hindy Najman, "Reconsidering Jubilees: Prophecy and Exemplarity," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 229–36.

examined writings should be understood in the context of Daniel 7–12, where each chapter begins with a statement concerning how Daniel has received divine messages. In these chapters, interpretations of old oracles are equated with dreams and visions as a proper means of accessing divine messages. Even the same verb (בִּיֵּן) is used to refer to dreams, visions, and the interpretation of past oracles. Daniel may be presented as an inspired interpreter also in the fragmentary Pseudo-Daniel manuscripts (4Q243–245). Likewise, in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah C (4Q385a 17 ii), Jeremiah acts as an inspired interpreter by recontextualizing Nahum’s oracle concerning the fall of Nineveh (Nah 3:8–10). As a result, the oracle no longer concerns Nineveh but rather the destruction of Egypt in the eschatological age.<sup>62</sup>

Nothing indicates that the audience of these new literary works should have considered them less prophetic than or more secondary to those from which they are drawn.<sup>63</sup> In these compositions, the interpretation is implicit, as the original oracle is not marked separate from its interpretation. Similar types of implicit interpretation can also be found in compositions representing other genres, such as psalms and rule texts. The Damascus Document (CD 10:14–11:2), for example, presents an implicit interpretation of Isaiah 58:13–14 as part of its Sabbath laws. The prohibition from working or speaking of things relating to the work of the next morning (CD 10:19–20; 11:2) are based on an interpretation of Isaiah 58:13–14, one that should be understood as part of the hidden things that God has revealed to the community (CD 3:12–14).<sup>64</sup>

The discovery of the Qumran Scrolls brought into light also exegetical commentaries called the *pesharim*, which offer explicit interpretations of earlier oracles.<sup>65</sup> The *pesharim* can be divided roughly into two categories: continuous and thematic *pesharim*. In continuous *pesharim*, the scribe interprets the base text section by section. In thematic *pesharim*, the scribe instead collates passages from different texts thought to pertain to the same theme. However, there is only one well-preserved *pesharim* (Peshar Habakkuk), and, upon scrutiny, it seems that the sources are not in fact divided neatly into two categories, falling instead along a continuum.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 214–16, 221–30.

<sup>63</sup> Brooke, “Prophecy,” 154–58. Similarly, Jassen, *Mediating*, 346.

<sup>64</sup> Brooke, “Prophetic Interpretation,” 242–43. Brooke quotes CD 10:14–11:2 but refers to this passage (perhaps by mistake) as CD 11:16–12:2. Concerning implicit interpretation in psalms, see 1.3.3, below.

<sup>65</sup> In addition to the *pesharim*, there are also other works that include short sections that offer explicit interpretations; Brooke, “Prophetic Interpretation,” 245.

<sup>66</sup> Moshe J. Bernstein, “Introductory Formulas for Citation and Re-citation in of Biblical Verse in the Qumran Pesharim: Observations on the Peshar Technique,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 67–70.

Scholars have considered especially two passages from Pesher Habakkuk (1QpHab 2:5–10, 7:1–5) as key for how *pesher* interpretation functioned as a means to transmit divine messages.<sup>67</sup>

Col. 2: (5) Likewise: *Blank* The interpretation of the word [concerns the trai]tors in the last (6) days. They are violator[s of the coven]ant who will not believe (7) when they hear all that is going [to happen t]o the final generation, from the mouth of (8) the Priest whom God has placed wi[thin the Commun]ity, to foretell the fulfilment of all (9) the words of his servants, the prophets, [by] means of whom God has declared (10) all that is going to happen to his people Is[rael]. (1QpHab 2:5–10)

Col. 7: (1) And God told Habakkuk to write what was going to happen to (2) <to> the last generation, but he did not let him know the consummation of the era. (3) *Blank* And as for what he says: Hab 2:2 “So that /may run/ the one who reads it”. (4) Its interpretation concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God has made known (5) all the mysteries of the words of his servants, the prophets. (1QpHab 7:1–5)

The words of Habakkuk are then said to conceal mysteries (רִז), the meaning of which is hidden to the present reader. God will reveal these mysteries to a skilled and inspired interpreter who can uncover the hidden meanings.<sup>68</sup> *Pesher* exegesis can thus be understood as being in line with previous exegetical activity but is also an innovation, since the lemma must be separated from its interpretation. The *pesharim* were named after the word פֶּשֶׁר, which appears in formulae like “this refers to” (פֶּשֶׁר עַל), after which explicit interpretations is given (e.g., 1QpHab 2:12). The root פֶּשֶׁר links the genre of *pesharim* together with ancient Near Eastern divination. Although this sort of scribal divination is not itself known from other ancient Near Eastern texts and cultures, cognates of פֶּשֶׁר are used in other Semitic languages in relation to dream and omen interpretation.<sup>69</sup> In the Book of Daniel, the Aramaic cognate of פֶּשֶׁר is also used to refer to dream interpretation and is often related to mysteries. *Pesher* interpretation requires scribal skills and the use of physical

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<sup>67</sup> The English translation of Pesher Habakkuk is by Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1Q1–4Q273)* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 13, 17.

<sup>68</sup> It has been suggested that “running” in 1QpHab 7:3 refers to interpreting; Jassen, “Prophecy,” 325–26; cf. Brooke, “Prophetic Interpretation,” 245–49. On the image of the Teacher of Righteousness as a prophet in Pesher Habakkuk and in other composition, see Brooke, “Was Teacher.” Jokiranta points out that, further in Pesher Habakkuk 7, it becomes clear that not only the Teacher of Righteousness but also the wider community had access to the mysteries; Jutta Jokiranta, *Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement*, STDJ 105 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 180.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *pišru* in Akkadian and *pěšar* in Aramaic; Nissinen, “Pescharim,” 47–50. On Enoch as a “scribe of interpretation” who interprets dreams, cf. Armin Lange, “Sages and Scribes in the Qumran Literature,” in *Scribes, Sages, and Seers: The Sage in the Eastern Mediterranean World*, ed. L. G. Perdue; FRLANT 219 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 280–81.



objects like scrolls—more at home in the world of inductive methods of divination. Nevertheless, *peshar* interpretation is not merely an intellectual act but one believed to be inspired by God.<sup>70</sup>

Another aspect of *Pesharim* is that they are considered sectarian compositions, originating from the religious movement that preserved the Qumran corpus.<sup>71</sup> However, inspired interpretation itself is not restricted to one Jewish group. In fact, most Qumran compositions including implicit interpretation appear to be non-sectarian.<sup>72</sup> Josephus describes himself predicting the future similarly through dreams, visions, and interpretation of scripture.<sup>73</sup> Finally, the apostle Paul acts as an inspired interpreter of scriptures in his letters.<sup>74</sup>

In sum, the scholarly discussion on inspired interpretation related at first to the nature of the prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible as scribal products. Recently, however, various kinds of interpretative compositions have been studied as possible examples of both implicit and explicit inspired interpretation. Inspired interpretation includes both intuitive and inductive divinatory features. On the one hand, material objects (like scrolls), old oracles, and proper education were needed to mediate divine messages, though the resulting interpretation was still considered a divinely inspired act. Changes in how divine messages were delivered affected also the way in which intermediaries were depicted: figures like Jeremiah and Daniel are presented as inspired interpreters in the late Second Temple period. While the Qumran Scrolls include various previously unknown compositions that include inspired interpretation of earlier traditions, the phenomenon is not restricted to one Jewish group.

### 1.3.2 Sapiential Divination

As already mentioned in section 1.2, Alex P. Jassen has defined “sapiential revelation” as the transmission of divinely revealed wisdom.<sup>75</sup> In his examination of sapiential revelation, Jassen compares a variety of sources in which someone is said to gain access to divine knowledge through revelation, dreams, and visions and which had been previously studied in terms of apocalypticism

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<sup>70</sup> Nissinen, “Pesharim,” 45–55, 60. For further details on the methods of *peshar* interpretation, cf. Brooke, “Prophetic Interpretation,” 249–51. On Daniel 9, see Jassen, *Mediating*, 216–21.

<sup>71</sup> Jokiranta, *Social Identity*, 113–16.

<sup>72</sup> Brooke, “Prophetic Interpretation,” 239. On the Book of Daniel, see Dan 2; 4–5; 7.

<sup>73</sup> Lester L. Grabbe, “Thus Spake the Prophet Josephus....: The Jewish Historian on Prophets and Prophecy,” in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 245–47.

<sup>74</sup> Newman, “Speech and Spirit,” 253–63. On Paul as a prophet, cf. Aune, “Prophecy,” 248–62.

<sup>75</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 241.

and mantic wisdom.<sup>76</sup> The versatility of the sources and how they portray the transmission of divinely revealed wisdom make sapiential revelation (a term developed by Jassen) and sapiential divination (a term used in this dissertation) a less coherent phenomenon than inspired interpretation, which includes only one means of transmitting divine knowledge—viz., the interpretation of earlier traditions. Nevertheless, the diversity of the source material in the study of sapiential divination helps reveal how sapiential elements became important for how the transmission of divine knowledge was understood in the late Second Temple period.

In this and the following subsection, I will discuss some of the evidence found in 1 Enoch, Book of Daniel, Book of Ben Sira, Instruction, David's Compositions (11Q5 27), Community Rule, and the Thanksgiving Psalms. Each source has its distinctive way of conceptualizing the transmission of divine knowledge, but I will focus on those features relevant to the study of how the transmission of divine knowledge would have been understood in the Thanksgiving Psalms. Such features include the following: 1) the combination of prophetic and sapiential terminology and ideas, 2) the characterization of divine knowledge as a mystery, 3) the mediator is said to be a sage, 4) the mediator is a contemporary figure, 5) there are claims of divine inspiration through God's spirit, and 6) having access to divine knowledge is said to require studying and "intellectual illumination." Towards the end of subsection 1.3.3, I discuss what has been said previously about these six features in the Thanksgiving Psalms.

Recently, Seth Sanders has argued that, in the Hellenistic period, Mesopotamian and Judean scribes shared a similar myth regarding a scribe who could visit heaven and bring back knowledge considered accessible only to scribes.<sup>77</sup> Generations of Mesopotamian scribes studied and passed on the collection of writings referred to as "mysteries of gods" which the gods had revealed to an ancient sage named Adapa, who had travelled to heavens. In the Hellenistic Judean context, the role of an ideal ancient sage was ascribed to Enoch who is described as learning divine secrets during his heavenly journeys.<sup>78</sup> In 1 Enoch, Enoch is described as gaining wisdom through visions, during which he is said to have access to God's throne, the heavens, or the heavenly tablets.

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<sup>76</sup> Cf., e.g., Leo G. Perdue, "Mantic Sages in the Ancient Near East, Israel, Judaism, and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Prophecy after Prophets: The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding of Biblical and Extra-Biblical Prophecy*, ed. K. De Troyer and A. Lange; CBET 52 (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), 147–89; G. Nickelsburg, "Revelation," *EDSS* 2: 770–72.

<sup>77</sup> Sander's research is discussed also in 2.1, below.

<sup>78</sup> Seth L. Sanders, *From Adapa to Enoch: Scribal Culture and Religious Vision in Judea and Babylon*, TSAJ 167 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 149–52, 228–29.

There, he learns the divine mysteries which concern eschatological and cosmological matters. Enoch's task is then to transmit his wisdom to the audience of his books.<sup>79</sup> Thus, 1 Enoch fuses various prophetic and sapiential traditions. For example, 1 Enoch 1–5 resembles both prophetic oracles and sapiential literature: the introduction (1 En 1:2–3b) resembles the oracles of Balaam (esp. Num 24:15–17), the description of theophany (1 En 1:3c–7:9) incorporates vocabulary from Deuteronomy 33:1–2, Micaiah 1:3–4, and Isaiah 66:15–16, and 1 Enoch 5:5–9 draws on Isaiah 65:9–22. At the same time, the teaching concerning the cosmos (1 En 2:1–5:3) resembles sapiential teachings.<sup>80</sup> The Book of Watchers also uses the term mystery (רִזְ), which appears in several later compositions that discuss the transmission of divine wisdom. In the Book of Watchers, the term is used to refer to the illicit heavenly knowledge that the Watchers taught to human beings,<sup>81</sup> the problematic nature of which may not be so much their content but that the revelation was not authorized by God. Thus, the mysteries of the Watchers are juxtaposed with the knowledge God willingly reveals to Enoch. In the Book of Watchers, Enoch is not yet depicted as a recipient of mysteries, as he is in later tradition: in 1 Enoch 106:19, Enoch recounts the deeds of the Watchers and the fate of Noah and his sons, affirming that he knows these things because he has learned mysteries from God and from the heavenly tablets.

In addition to Enoch, another ancient sage, Daniel, is depicted as a recipient of God's mysteries, the word "mystery" appearing in Daniel 2 and 4 in relation to dream interpretation. In Daniel 2, God reveals his mystery to Daniel in a dream, which enables Daniel to interpret Nebuchadnezzar's dream. Like the Book of Watchers, Daniel includes also a juxtaposition of different kinds of knowledge—namely, between the knowledge revealed by God and the knowledge acquired by the wise men of Babylon—and present mystery as esoteric knowledge, meaning accessible only to some.<sup>82</sup>

The combination of traditional prophetic and sapiential terminology is not found only in apocalypses. Throughout his book, Ben Sira describes his role as being somewhat analogous to

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<sup>79</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 263–72.

<sup>80</sup> George W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*, Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 31–32, 59–60. On 1 Enoch, cf. Jassen, *Mediating*, 261–72. Jassen offers a brief analysis of the Balaam account (Num 22–24), the Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q378), and Sir 48:20–25 (concerning Isaiah), all of which similarly contain both traditional prophetic and sapiential terminology to describe how divine knowledge is transmitted; Jassen, *Mediating*, 243–50, 255–57.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. 1 En 8:3; 9:6; 10:7; 16:3. Only the first reference is preserved in Aramaic; Thomas, *The "Mysteries,"* 112.

<sup>82</sup> Thomas, *The "Mysteries,"* 111–18. On the possibility that "mystery" is used in Isa 24:16, cf. Thomas, *The "Mysteries,"* 106–11. Concerning other Aramaic literature, cf. Thomas, *The "Mysteries,"* 118–25.

the task of prophets by using classical prophetic terminology and concepts; at the same time, he acknowledges the qualitative difference between the classical prophets and the contemporary means of transmitting divine knowledge,<sup>83</sup> as is done also in various other late Second Temple period sources.<sup>84</sup> In Sirach 24, Ben Sira likens his teaching to prophecy by stating that he pours his teaching out “like prophecy” (ὡς προφητεῖαν, Sir 24:33). Syntactically, it is possible that the expression “like prophecy” characterizes either the transmission process or the outcome of this process—viz., the instruction itself.<sup>85</sup> While how Ben Sira relates himself to classical prophets and prophecy is one interesting research question, how Ben Sira believes divine knowledge is transmitted can and should be examined by modern scholars also without using classical prophets and prophecy as necessary points of reference. One can, for instance, observe from an etic perspective that all the elements required for the transmission of divine knowledge to take place (i.e., divine source, human mediator, message, and recipients) can be found in Sirach 24. Furthermore, Ben Sira depicts himself as transmitting divine knowledge (i.e., Wisdom/Torah) to the people of Israel.<sup>86</sup> The description of the transmission of divine knowledge includes features that can also be found in ancient Near Eastern prophecy: Ben Sira describes his knowledge originating from the divine council (“council of the Most High”).<sup>87</sup> Also, the role of Wisdom as a divine mediator corresponds to the role of goddesses in several ancient Near Eastern sources.<sup>88</sup> Additionally, Ben Sira teaches that wisdom cannot be gained by simply meditating on the sapiential tradition, the created order, and Israel’s literary heritage, but both God and Wisdom are described “revealing” (גלה) knowledge (Sir 4:18, 42:19).<sup>89</sup> In Sirach 39, Ben Sira summarizes the mediation of divine knowledge as a three-stage process: (1) a sage must acquire wisdom, pray, and be obedient to God (Sir 39:1–5); (2) however, God is the ultimate source of wisdom, and therefore, an ideal sage is also a recipient of divine revelation, as God fills him with

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<sup>83</sup> Samuel L. Adams, “Sage as Prophet? Allusion and Reconfiguration in Ben Sira and Other Second Temple Wisdom Texts,” in *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism*, ed. H. Najman et al.; JAJSup 174 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 104–5. On Ben Sira’s view of prophecy, cf. also Pancratius C. Beentjes, “Prophets and Prophecy in the Book of Ben Sira,” in *Prophets, Prophecy, and Prophetic Texts in Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. H. Floyd and R. D. Haak; LHBOTS 427 (New York: T&T Clark, 2006), 135–50.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. 1.1–2, above.

<sup>85</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 312–13.

<sup>86</sup> Similarly, Benjamin G. Wright, “Conflicted Boundaries in Ben Sira, Sage and Seer,” in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. M. Nissinen; SupVT 148 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 234–36. On the different components of the transmission of divine knowledge, as defined in this study, see 1.2, above.

<sup>87</sup> The divine council is discussed in further detail in 2.1, below.

<sup>88</sup> Martti Nissinen, “Wisdom as a Mediatrix in Sirach 24: Ben Sira, Love Lyrics, and Prophecy,” in *Of God(s), Trees, Kings, and Scholars. Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies in Honour of Simo Parpola*, ed. M. Luukko et al.; StudOr 106 (Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2009), 386–88.

<sup>89</sup> Wright, “Conflicted,” 230–39.

“a spirit of understanding” (πνεύματι συνέσεως); (3) in response, a sage should teach other and give thanks to God in prayer.<sup>90</sup>

A sapiential composition called Instruction—dated to the second century BCE<sup>91</sup>—demonstrates that some wisdom circles combined traditional wisdom instruction with the notion of revealed wisdom more explicitly than Ben Sira did. In Instruction, as a collection of wisdom instruction from the sage to his pupils, the pupils are exhorted to meditate upon רז נהיה, that they might also become wise (e.g., 4Q417 1 i).<sup>92</sup> רז נהיה can be translated as “mystery that is to be.”<sup>93</sup> The teachings of Instruction range from the eschatological to those of daily matters, and several suggestions have been made concerning what exactly is רז נהיה. Matthew Goff describes רז נהיה as “revelation of God’s eternal dominion.” Jassen suggests that רז נהיה is “a body of divine knowledge found in multiple sources”—literature but also oral teachings and empirical knowledge. The reception of רז נהיה is perceived as a revelatory experience but such a revelation is not direct but mediated through רז נהיה.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, although Instruction refers to a revealed mystery like 1 Enoch and Daniel, how this divine knowledge is revealed to humans comes closer to that described in Sirach. As in the latter, wisdom is gained by study, through which God reveals his wisdom.<sup>95</sup> The task of the teacher is thus to provide teachings from which the mystery can be observed.<sup>96</sup> Instruction

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<sup>90</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 310–11.

<sup>91</sup> On dating Instruction, see, e.g., Matthew J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction*, STDJ 50 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 228–32; Torleif Elgvin, “An Analysis of 4QInstruction” (PhD diss., Hebrew University, 1997), 188–89.

<sup>92</sup> 4Q417 1 i is discussed more closely in 3.1 and 3.2.2, below.

<sup>93</sup> Goff, *Wordly*, 51–61. On the translation and meaning of רז נהיה, cf. Elgvin, “An Analysis,” 80–81; Armin Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran*, STDJ 18 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 60; Daniel J. Harrington, “The Rāz Nihyeh in Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 423),” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 549–53. The term appears also in Mysteries (1Q27 1 i 3, 4; 4Q300 3:4) and in the Community Rule (1QS 11:3–4); the Qumran corpus contains several wisdom texts in which wisdom is understood as a revealed mystery. However, it also includes sapiential works bearing only a few similarities with apocalypses; Torleif Elgvin, “Wisdom with and without Apocalyptic,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumran. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization of Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998*, ed. D. K. Falk et al.; STDJ 34 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 17.

<sup>94</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 318–324. Bakker argues that, although תורה is not mentioned in Instruction, רז נהיה is not counterposed to תורה, the commandments of which are affirmed in Instruction; Arjen Bakker, “Sages and Saints: Continuous Study and Transformation in Musar le-Mevin and Serekh ha-Yahad,” in *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism*, ed. H. Najman et al.; SupJSJ 174 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 108–9. Cf. Goff, *Wordly*, 73.

<sup>95</sup> Wright, “Conflicted,” 234–35.

<sup>96</sup> The speaker of Instruction does not elaborate on his own role as a mediator of divine knowledge. Matthew Goff, at any rate, concludes that “the author mediated this revelation”; Matthew J. Goff, “Reading Wisdom at Qumran: 4QInstruction and the Hodayot,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 274–75. Alex Jassen describes only vaguely the role of the sage in

resembles Sirach also in the sense that the mediator of divine wisdom is a contemporary sage—as some have suggested, a wisdom teacher (משכיל).<sup>97</sup> The title משכיל links Instruction with Daniel but also with Community Rule and the Thanksgiving Psalms, where a wisdom teacher is depicted as a teacher of divinely revealed wisdom.<sup>98</sup>

Not only Instruction but several sectarian compositions from the Qumran corpus also demonstrate that the acquisition and transmission of divine knowledge was understood as an intellectual process. Important poetic passages in the latter collection, such as the psalm in Community Rule manuscript 1QS and the Thanksgiving Psalms, are discussed in the following subsection, but it is worth noting here already the intellectual character of intermediation in the sectarian compositions as a whole, an aspect that especially Edward Cook has emphasized.<sup>99</sup> Divinely revealed knowledge is often characterized as סוד, אמת, בינה, and שכל, a form of knowledge gained not in visions or auditions but through a cognitive process. Cook also draws attention to the pedagogical setting as a likely social setting for the transmission of divine knowledge. While Cook is right to note the qualitative difference between visions and more intellectual processes, it remains unclear whether Cook thinks that the supposedly divinely inspired intellectual process is to be understood as a viable means of transmitting actual divine messages. Cook seems to think that the intellectual process is a more meager version of the revelatory process in which God directly discloses himself to human beings through visions. The members of Qumran movement, he argues, are thus not reported to have access to *new* revelations but merely “believe, understand, and accept the revelation hitherto ignored, disbelieved, or misunderstood.”<sup>100</sup> It is true that the Qumran corpus provides little evidence for contemporary figures as recipients of visions or auditions.<sup>101</sup> However, different modes of acquiring divine knowledge are described, and these should indeed be understood as viable means for mediating the divine messages.<sup>102</sup>

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addressing his pupils in Instruction, mostly discussing רצ נהיה, the Book of Memorial, and the Vision of Hagu as media of divine communication; Jassen, *Mediating*, 319–29.

<sup>97</sup> Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 265; Lange, “Sages and Scribes,” 277.

<sup>98</sup> For further details, cf. 1.3.3, below.

<sup>99</sup> Cook uses mainly (but not exclusively) sectarian compositions as examples.

<sup>100</sup> Cook, “What,” 3–13, esp. 8–9.

<sup>101</sup> Martti Nissinen, “Oracles at Qumran? Traces of Inspired Speakers in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. S. Pajunen and H. Tervanotko; PFES 108 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 167–76.

<sup>102</sup> As argued, e.g., by Nissinen, who builds on Cook’s observations; Nissinen, “Transmitting,” 531; cf. Thomas, “*The Mysteries*,” 233.

In sum, this subsection has discussed a phenomenon where the transmission of wisdom is understood as a divinely inspired process. Both apocalypses and sapiential compositions combine classical prophetic and sapiential terminology and ideas to explain how divine knowledge is transmitted. While apocalypses like 1 Enoch and Daniel portray ancient figures as mediators, wisdom texts like Sirach and Instruction employ contemporary sages for this task. These two compositions also share a similar understanding of revelation: God reveals his wisdom to these contemporary sages through studying, as opposed to the visual or aural experiences of Daniel and Enoch. The task of a sage is furthermore to teach other and, in this way, to participate in the mediation of divine wisdom. The transmission of divine wisdom also includes both inductive and intuitive features: both divine inspiration and the learnedness of a sage are needed for the legitimate mediation of divine knowledge.

### 1.3.3 Divination and Psalms

Psalms and compositions that use psalms as their sources have become increasingly important in studying inspired interpretation and sapiential divination. The studies discussed in this subsection suggest that composing, reciting, and studying psalms could all have been means for the transmission of divine knowledge in the late Second Temple period. Although psalms at this time were used for different kinds of liturgical purposes, from the Hellenistic period onwards, scribes and sages also studied and composed psalms for instruction. Perhaps from the second century BCE onwards, some psalms were even considered as containing divine messages.<sup>103</sup> Eugene Ulrich argues that the supposed prophetic nature of Psalms eventually led to their inclusion into the Hebrew canon.<sup>104</sup>

In the following subsection, I review recent studies on the relationship between psalms and divination in the late Second Temple period. I first discuss how the role of a psalmist and that of an intermediary are connected in the figure of David, as well as in the figure of wisdom teachers (משכילים). The latter is especially of importance for the current study, as three of the seven Thanksgiving Psalms analyzed in this dissertation are attributed to a wisdom teacher. In the latter

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<sup>103</sup> Mika S. Pajunen, "The Influence of Societal Changes in the Late Second Temple Period on the Functions and Composition of Psalms," forthcoming in *SJOT*. Concerning Psalms as prophecies especially in the Qumran movement, cf. Jesper Høgenhaven, "Psalms as Prophecy: Evidence for the Reading of Psalms as Prophetic Text and the Formation of Canon," in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*, ed. M. S. Pajunen and J. Penner; BZAW 486 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 231–51.

<sup>104</sup> Eugene Ulrich, "From Literature to Scripture: Reflections on the Growth of a Text's Authoritativeness," *DSD* 10 (2003): 10–12.

part of this subchapter, I discuss the role of psalms in inspired interpretation. As I will show, scholars already consider the Thanksgiving Psalms as important evidence for studying late Second Temple period divination.<sup>105</sup> Even though Alex Jassen has discussed in the Thanksgiving Psalms only in relation to sapiential revelation, I argue that the inspired interpretation of earlier traditions seems to play an important role in some Thanksgiving Psalms.

David's Compositions (11Q5 27:2–11) combines the image of an inspired sage with that of a psalmist.<sup>106</sup> The composition praises David, listing all the psalms and songs he had composed, altogether totaling 4050. As in the case of Ben Sira, scholars have debated whether David is presented as a prophet in David's Compositions,<sup>107</sup> as his portrayal recalls descriptions of sages believed to have mediated divine messages. David is, for instance, called "wise" (חכם) and "discerning" (נבון) and referred to as a "scribe" (סופר). It is also mentioned that David "shone like the light of sun," a feature that ties David together with Moses, whose face shone after receiving the law on Mt. Sinai.<sup>108</sup> Also, David is likewise depicted as having received a "discerning and enlightened spirit" (רוח נבונה ואורה, 11Q5 27:4) from God, a description that recalls the "spirit of understanding" in Sirach 39:5–6. The root בִּין also appears in several Second-Temple compositions that discuss the mediation of divine messages. The most revealing detail in the description is the final statement of this work, according to which David composed all his psalms and songs "through prophecy which was given to him from before the Most High" (כול אלה דבר בנבואה אשר נתן לו מלפני). By referring to prophecy, the passage recalls the final statement of Sirach 24. Here, Alex Jassen has also argued that there is an intentional wordplay between נבונה and נבואה, underlining David's role as an inspired intermediary. Thus, despite David's discernment and skills, the ultimate source of his compositions is God. David's Compositions does not, however, reveal what exactly in

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<sup>105</sup> Brooke, ("Prophecy," 163) suggests that the Thanksgiving Psalms are to be considered as prophetic but he does not investigate the topic further.

<sup>106</sup> For the Hebrew text and English translation, cf. J.A. Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumrân Cave 11 (11QPs<sup>a</sup>)*, DJD 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965), 92.

<sup>107</sup> Timothy Lim does not deny that David is depicted as a divinely inspired psalmist but when considering the prophetic role of David and his psalms, Lim uses biblical prophets and prophetic compositions as measuring sticks; Timothy H. Lim, "'All These He Composed through Prophecy,'" in *Prophecy after the Prophets? The Contribution of the Dead Sea Scrolls to the Understanding Biblical and Extra-biblical Prophecy*, ed. A. Lange and K. De Troyer; CBET 52 (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 66–73. Peter Flint, instead, is more convinced that David was considered a prophet although he is not labelled as one; Peter Flint, "Prophet David at Qumran," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*, ed. M. Henze; SDSS (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2006), 162–7.

<sup>108</sup> Sanders, *From Adapa*, 210–11. On the Thanksgiving Psalms, see 1.4, below.



David's psalms and songs makes them divinely revealed wisdom. Jassen suggests that, because David's Compositions presupposes a solar calendar, the number of psalms and songs (viz., 4,050) signal that the solar calendar is a divinely sanctioned calendar.<sup>109</sup> The reference to prophecy in David's Compositions has also been associated with the interpretation of biblical psalms in the *pesharim*. Peter Flint points out that Psalms must have been considered oracles, as they like (some) other prophetic books were interpreted using the *peshet* method.<sup>110</sup> Timothy Lim does not, however, find Flint's argumentation convincing, because the Davidic Psalms are not the only ones interpreted in the *pesharim*, nor are the prophetic books the only one from the Tanakh interpreted with the *peshet* method.<sup>111</sup> The *pesharim* on biblical psalms are discussed again towards the end of this subsection.

Composing psalms and being an intermediary are combined also in the figure of a wisdom teacher (מִשְׁכִּיל). In the Qumran Scrolls, the wisdom teacher seems to perform various roles: 1) leader with administrative responsibilities,<sup>112</sup> 2) liturgical performer,<sup>113</sup> 3) exorcist,<sup>114</sup> and 4) teacher.<sup>115</sup> That a wisdom teacher in the Qumran movement might have fulfilled all these roles is based on the interpretation of the heading לְמִשְׁכִּיל, often translated as "for a wisdom teacher." The heading indicates that the composition was recited by wisdom teachers.<sup>116</sup> Robert Hawley argues against the interpretation that the heading would refer to a person (e.g., a wisdom teacher); rather, according to him, it is more likely that the heading should be translated in the abstract sense—namely, "concerning insight." Hawley bases his argument how the heading לְמִשְׁכִּיל—as it appears in the Book of Psalms—is translated in the Septuagint and the Targum.<sup>117</sup> In my view, both interpretations of the heading share the same methodological problem—namely, forcing a single reading on otherwise diverse textual evidence. Instead, I argue that scholars should account for the

<sup>109</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 250–55.

<sup>110</sup> Flint, "Prophet David," 159–60.

<sup>111</sup> Lim, "All these," 65.

<sup>112</sup> E.g., 4Q421 1a ii–b 12; CD 12:20–22; 1QS 9:12–21.

<sup>113</sup> E.g., 1QSb 1:1; 3:22; 5:20; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7.

<sup>114</sup> E.g., 4Q510 1:4; 4Q511 8:4.

<sup>115</sup> E.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14; Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13); 4QcryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn 1–2 I 1–3; Lange, "Sages and Scribes," 286–91. Cf. Perdue, "Mantic Sages," 168–71; Carol A. Newsom, "The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the Maškil," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East*, ed. J. G. Gammie and L. G. Perdue (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 373–82. The wisdom teacher appears also as a teacher or liturgical performer in non-sectarian compositions: The Book of Daniel (11:33, 35; 12:3, 10); Instruction (4Q418 81+81a 17; 4Q417 1 i 25); Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (e.g., 4Q400 1 i 1); Lange, "Sages and Scribes," 277–78.

<sup>116</sup> Lange, "Sages and Scribes," 286.

<sup>117</sup> Robert Hawley, "On Maskil in the Judean Desert Texts," *Henoch* 28 (2006): 46–77.

possibility of variation between different sources, communities, and times.<sup>118</sup> Some compositions within the Qumran corpus (e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42) include both the heading למשכיל and some reference to a wisdom teacher (משכיל). Therefore, it is reasonable to surmise that the psalm would have been recited by a wisdom teacher.<sup>119</sup> This dissertation does not otherwise posit an overarching theory about the roles of the wisdom teacher in the Qumran movement. However, because there are so many thematic and lexical similarities between the Thanksgiving Psalms that include the heading למשכיל and the למשכיל sections of 1QS,<sup>120</sup> these sources are discussed together in several parts of this dissertation.

For the current discussion, especially of interest are those poetic compositions in which the wisdom teacher depicts himself as a mediator of divine knowledge. The Community Rule manuscript 1QS includes a psalm (1QS 9:26–11:22) that is considered a psalm of a wisdom teacher,<sup>121</sup> a wisdom teacher said to be an exemplary being, perfect in praising, following God’s commandments, and mastering divine wisdom. The speaker of the psalm then portrays himself as a recipient of divine wisdom who instructs others (1QS 10:26–11:7), a depiction that recalls other compositions that discuss the transmission of divine wisdom. God is emphasized as being the ultimate source of knowledge (1QS 11:3), and the knowledge itself is depicted as רז נהיה (1QS 11:3–4), like in Instruction.<sup>122</sup> Divine knowledge is described as a mystery also in the sense that it is hidden from others (1QS 11:6). The process of God revealing his knowledge to the wisdom teacher is furthermore intellectual in character, as God is depicted opening knowledge into the heart of the speaker (1QS 11:15–16). As in Sirach, divine knowledge is mediated by teaching (1QS 10:[26], 11:1).

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<sup>118</sup> The different versions of the Community Rule, e.g., offer complex evidence in and of themselves. On the one hand, the wisdom teacher is not depicted in the Community Rule like other officials of the community, and the word משכיל appears only in the heading למשכיל. On the other hand, the heading למשכיל in 4QS<sup>b,d</sup> likely refers to a person, because, in 1QS 5:1, the parallel passage refers also to people, “men of the community”; Perdue, “Mantic Sages,” 169.

<sup>119</sup> Hawley also considers the most likely translation for the word משכיל in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14 to be “wisdom teacher.” He nevertheless argues that the heading למשכיל in the beginning of the psalm should be translated as “for insight”; Hawley, “On Maskil,” 64, 72.

<sup>120</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 299.

<sup>121</sup> The psalm itself does not contain the word משכיל, but the heading למשכיל appears twice in 1QS 9. The third-person singular verb יברכנו in the beginning of the psalm (1QS 9:26) should then refer to the wisdom teacher.

<sup>122</sup> Jassen draws attention also to the light metaphor and to the term “fountain of his knowledge”; Jassen, *Mediating*, 371–73.

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, the wisdom teacher also appears as both a liturgical performer and master of divine knowledge. As mentioned previously, this psalm not only bears the heading למשכיל, but the speaker also identifies himself as משכיל (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14) who claims to have received knowledge from God through his holy spirit.<sup>123</sup> Although the Thanksgiving Psalms do attribute the transmission of divine wisdom to a wisdom teacher, the psalms have sparked surprisingly little scholarly interest. This may be for several reasons. First, the Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to the wisdom teacher are more fragmentary than the Thanksgiving Psalms situated in the well-preserved middle section of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup>. The fragmentary nature of the psalms as a whole proved to be a challenge especially before the material reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> was published.<sup>124</sup>

Second, the Thanksgiving Psalms have been traditionally classified into two categories, Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns.<sup>125</sup> The Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to the wisdom teacher are considered Community Hymns often considered to describe collective experiences. Therefore, these psalms have not been studied necessarily from the perspective of the wisdom teacher but from a communal perspective.<sup>126</sup> The Teacher Hymns, on the other hand, have been understood as presenting a more individual experience than the Community Hymns. In 1963, Gert Jeremias argued that certain Thanksgiving Psalms had been composed by the early leader figure of the Qumran community, the Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>127</sup> Even though Jeremias was not the first to suggest that the antecedent of “I” in the Teacher Hymns was the Teacher of Righteousness—a leader figure mentioned in a few Qumran compositions—his book on the topic has been highly influential.<sup>128</sup> Since Jeremias’s study, certain Thanksgiving Psalms have become attributed to this figure, and the psalms themselves have come to be considered evidence in the historical quest for the Teacher of Righteousness. This approach endures even in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, though gradually

<sup>123</sup> Lange, “Sages and Scribes,” 287; cf. Perdue, “Mantic Sages,” 169.

<sup>124</sup> For further details, see 1.4, below.

<sup>125</sup> On the division of the Thanksgiving Psalms into the Teacher Hymns and the Community Hymns, see 1.4, below.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. the proposal put forth by Shane Allan Berg, described below.

<sup>127</sup> Gert Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit*, stUNT 2 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963), 171–76, 264. Elisha Qimron argues that even the wisdom teacher (משכיל) mentioned in the Thanksgiving Psalms could refer to the Teacher of Righteousness (or to his successors); Elisha Qimron, *Megilot Midbar Yehudah: ha-hiburim ha-Ivriyim (in Hebrew)* (Yerushalayim: Yad Yitshak Ben-Tsevi, 2010), xxviii–xxix.

<sup>128</sup> Already E. Sukenik had suggested that the Thanksgiving Psalms were composed by the Teacher of Righteousness; E. L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), 39. The Teacher of Righteousness is mentioned in the Damascus Document (1:11; 20:32), Pesher Habakkuk (1:13; 2:2; 5:10; 7:4; 8:3; 9:9–10; 11:5), Psalm Pesher<sup>a</sup> (1–10 III:15, 19; IV:8, 27), Psalm Pesher<sup>b</sup> (1:4; 2:2), and Pesher Micah (8–10:6).

more and more scholars have written to challenge it.<sup>129</sup> Nevertheless, the Teacher Hymn hypothesis has influenced also how Alex P. Jassen and Shane Alan Berg, for example, understand the transmission of divine knowledge in the Thanksgiving Psalms.

In his analysis of sapiential revelation, Jassen focuses on the analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6, a highly polemical psalm that depicts a disagreement between the speaker and his opponents. Through several allusions to scriptures, the opponents are depicted as devilish priests and prophets who have led the people astray. This disagreement seems to concern the right interpretation of the law, the speaker arguing that he is correct, because his knowledge comes from God. The speaker portrays himself a mediator able to stand in the divine council (סוד) and thus mediate the divine mysteries to his own community. He also depicts himself as a prophet like Moses, whose face shines like Moses's face shone on Mt. Sinai. Jassen identifies the speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 as the Teacher of Righteousness and his opponents as the Pharisees. According to Jassen, the psalm sheds light on the halachic disputes that led to the formation of the Qumran movement as well as to the prophetic activity of the Teacher of Righteousness.<sup>130</sup> Descriptions of being a mediator of divine knowledge have also been considered characteristic of the so-called Teacher Hymns.<sup>131</sup>

Recently, Berg has claimed that two types of epistemologies are represented in the Thanksgiving Psalms: prophetic epistemology and sapiential epistemology. According to this view, prophetic epistemology is represented in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 and other Teacher Hymns, while sapiential epistemology is represented in the Community Hymns. The main difference between these two categories is the existence of a human intermediary. According to Berg, the Community Hymns do not depict an intermediary; anyone can have access to knowledge through the divine spirit. Furthermore, Berg argues that there are “no clear markers of prophetic traditions” in the Community Hymns. Thus, Berg wonders if sapiential revelation is indeed a modified mode of prophecy, as Jassen has argued.<sup>132</sup> Considering these different views on the relationship of “sapiential” and “prophetic” in the Thanksgiving Psalms, a more thorough analysis of the

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<sup>129</sup> Eileen M. Schuller, “Recent Scholarship on the Hodayot 1993–2010,” *CBR* 10 (2011): 139–42. Carol Newsom does not use the term “Teacher Hymns” but substitutes it with the term “Hymns of the Leader,” as she does not consider the psalms to be composed by the Teacher of Righteousness; Newsom, *The Self*, 197, 290–300. Cf. Julie A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot*, STDJ 59 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 234.

<sup>130</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 369–71, 80, 280–90.

<sup>131</sup> Michael C. Douglas, “The Teacher Hymn Hypothesis Revisited: New Data for an Old Crux,” *DJD* 6 (1999): 244; cf. Nickelsburg, “Revelation,” 771–72.

<sup>132</sup> Berg, “Religious Epistemologies,” 206; see further 202–7, 238–40. Thomas also observes that some Thanksgiving Psalms depict a human mediator while others do not; Thomas, *The “Mysteries”*, 207–20.

Thanksgiving Psalms is needed. The seven Thanksgiving Psalms examined in this dissertation include prominent wisdom elements, and, therefore, these psalms can shed more light on sapiential divination than can, for example, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6. Especially in chapters 2 and 3, I argue that Berg misinterprets or ignores those sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms that depict a human intermediary. In addition, while there are differences in how the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in the sapiential and non-sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, there are also significant similarities between some of these psalms.

The final part of this chapter discusses inspired interpretation and its relation to psalms. As mentioned above, the Qumran corpus also includes *pesharim* on Psalms (1Q16; 4Q171; 4Q173). While the manuscripts are fragmentary, an interpretation of Psalm 37 in 4Q171 in particular is fairly well preserved. Psalms are also interpreted and quoted in 4QEschatological Midrash (4Q174 and 4Q177) and 11QMelchizedek (11Q13).<sup>133</sup> Mika Pajunen argues that the Psalms that did not seem to serve a liturgical function in the late Second Temple period—that is, royal psalms and laments—were those (mostly) interpreted as oracles.<sup>134</sup> Evidence outside the Qumran corpus likewise demonstrates that Psalms and Lamentations were thought to contain divine messages. In John 19:24, for example, Psalm 22:19 is interpreted explicitly as a prediction of events to take place during Jesus’s crucifixion.<sup>135</sup> Josephus likewise interprets Lamentations as prophesying the demise of the Second Temple.

In addition to the interpretation of psalms, new psalms may have also been composed to mediate divine messages. Several psalms were composed to unfold the (eschatological) future (4Q381 IV 7–V 12; PsSol 17 and 18; Barkhi Nafshi 4Q434 2; 1QM 11).<sup>136</sup> The Psalms of Solomon and the Barkhi Nafshi hymns not only predict the future but also contain interpretations of earlier traditions. In the second psalm in the Psalms of Solomon, for example, Pompey’s invasion of Jerusalem in 63 BCE is interpreted in light of the Babylonian invasion in 586 BCE by alluding to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Lamentations. The author the psalm argues that that Pompey’s invasion likewise came about because of the sins of the people and its leaders. However, the psalmist’s own

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<sup>133</sup> On the interpretation of Psalms in 4QEschatological Midrash (4Q174 and 4Q177), see Høgenhaven, “Psalms,” 241–44.

<sup>134</sup> Pajunen, “The Influence,” forthcoming.

<sup>135</sup> John 19:24: “So they said to one another, ‘Let us not tear it, but cast lots for it to see who will get it.’ This was to fulfill what the scripture says, ‘They divided my clothes among themselves, and for my clothing they cast lots.’”

Pajunen also juxtaposes how psalms are interpreted in the *pesharim* and in some writings of the New Testament; Pajunen, “The Influence,” forthcoming.

<sup>136</sup> Pajunen, “The Influence,” forthcoming.

group is not counted among the sinners. In another example taken from the Barkhi Nafshi hymns (4Q434 1–2), earlier traditions concerning both the exodus and the exile are used to portray how God has saved the community behind the hymns: Isaiah’s prophecies of future restoration will come to pass for those among the righteous community.<sup>137</sup> Unfortunately, these psalms do not include explicit information on whether their composers saw themselves as mediators of divine knowledge or whether they believed that the content of the psalms was divinely revealed knowledge. In this regard, the Thanksgiving Psalms offer much needed evidence.

That the Thanksgiving Psalms is a highly allusive composition has been long recognized in the study of the Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>138</sup> Recently, George Brooke and Judith Newman have examined the interpretation of earlier traditions not as a poetic device but as means to transmit divine knowledge. Brooke argues that, while the *peshtarim* offer explicit prophetic interpretation of earlier traditions, the Thanksgiving Psalms present implicit prophetic interpretation, offering an example from 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 in which “the fresh coordination of phraseology refreshes the original prophetic text and brings it, in a way through the inspiration of the poet, into the contemporary experience and reflection of the reader or hearer.”<sup>139</sup> In her article on the wisdom teacher and Paul as inspired interpreters, Judith Newman analyzes the presentation of the wisdom teacher in the Thanksgiving Psalms as well scriptural interpretation in three Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to a wisdom teacher (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42), concluding that the wisdom teacher portrays himself as a mediator of divine knowledge and that the psalms should be considered as new prophetic messages shaped by the interpretation of scripture.<sup>140</sup> Newman’s innovation is to discuss the role of the wisdom teacher as an inspired interpreter of earlier traditions, a perspective that had not been taken by previous scholars.<sup>141</sup> Due to the wide scope of her article, she does not

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<sup>137</sup> Mika S. Pajunen, “Exodus and Exile as Prototypes of Justice: Prophecies in the Psalms of Solomon and *Barkhi Nafshi* Hymns,” in *Functions of Psalms and Prayers in the Late Second Temple Period*, ed. M. S. Pajunen and J. Penner; BZAW 486 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2017), 257–60, 267–68.

<sup>138</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 300. On biblical interpretation in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf., e.g., Svend Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot: Psalms from Qumran*, ATDan II (Aarhus, Universitetsforlaget, 1960); Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*; Sarah A. Tanzer, “Biblical Interpretation in the Hodayot,” in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*, ed. M. Henze (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2012), 255–75.

<sup>139</sup> Brooke, “Prophetic Interpretation,” 243–44.

<sup>140</sup> Newman, “Speech and Spirit,” 264; cf. Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 308. See also the methodological discussion in 1.4, below.

<sup>141</sup> Elisa Uusimäki, e.g., contrasts the wisdom teacher with the figure of the Teacher of Righteousness, the latter of whom is associated with *pesher* interpretation; Elisa Uusimäki, “Maskil among the Hellenistic Jewish Sages,” *JAJ* 8 (2017): 55. On the different roles of the wisdom teacher, cf. the beginning of this subsection.

analyze the interpretation of older traditions in detail;<sup>142</sup> this task is undertaken especially in chapter 3 of this dissertation, where I analyze the content of the supposedly divine message in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 and how the message is shaped by interpretation of earlier traditions. My analysis will demonstrate that some sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms can be studied in terms of both sapiential divination and the inspired interpretation of earlier traditions. While I consider both sapiential divination and inspired interpretation useful concepts when analyzing the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, this approach is contrary to previous studies where the Thanksgiving Psalms have been investigated mostly in terms of sapiential divination and where sapiential divination and the inspired interpretation of earlier traditional are considered separate phenomena. Therefore, this study can provide new insights into the relationship between these two phenomena.

In summary, recent studies suggest that the composing, studying, and reciting of psalms did play a role in the transmission of divine knowledge in the late Second Temple period. As for the Thanksgiving Psalms, the study of both inspired interpretation and sapiential divination are still in the early stages of scholarly research, but previous studies have demonstrated that especially the Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to a wisdom teacher are potential sources for further investigations.

#### 1.4 Sources

The sources of this study consist of seven Thanksgiving Psalms: 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 15:29–36; 17:38–19:5; 19:6–20:6; 20:7–22:41. These seven psalms were chosen, because their analysis can shed new light in the study of both sapiential divination and the inspired interpretation of earlier traditions, as discussed above.

The Thanksgiving Psalms, which can be described as prayers of gratitude,<sup>143</sup> are part of the Qumran corpus found in the eleven caves near the Dead Sea in 1947–1956. The speaker of the psalms refers to himself in the first person singular, while God is addressed in the second person singular.<sup>144</sup> The Thanksgiving Psalms have been preserved in eight manuscripts (1QH<sup>a–b</sup>, 4QH<sup>a–f</sup>). Manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup> was one of the first of the Qumran manuscripts to be discovered in 1947. Eleazar Sukenik named the manuscript as מגילת ההודיות, “Thanksgiving Scroll,” because of the recurring

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<sup>142</sup> Newman’s studies on the Thanksgiving Psalms offer many valuable insights and are discussed in further detail in the main chapters of this thesis.

<sup>143</sup> Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 39.

<sup>144</sup> Thus, the Thanksgiving Psalms differ from the biblical thanksgiving psalms, which refer to God in the third-person singular; Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 122.

rubric “I thank you, my Lord,” אֲדוֹךְ אֲדוֹנִי.<sup>145</sup> Thus, the Thanksgiving Psalms are also known as the “Hodayot.” Although the Hodayot have been referred to as “Thanksgiving Hymns” in English, in this dissertation, the designation “Thanksgiving Psalms” is preferred, following Eileen Schuller, an editor of the Hodayot manuscripts.<sup>146</sup>

All eight Hodayot manuscripts were copied in the first century BCE.<sup>147</sup> None of the existing manuscripts is considered to be an autograph. Because the oldest of the Hodayot manuscripts 4QH<sup>b</sup> is dated paleographically to circa 100–50 BCE, it is often argued that the Thanksgiving Psalms were composed already in the late second 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.<sup>148</sup> The eight Hodayot manuscripts testify to variations in the selection and arrangement of the Thanksgiving Psalms. The first discovered and best-preserved manuscript, 1QH<sup>a</sup>, contains a large selection of the Thanksgiving Psalms, consisting of 28–34 psalms.<sup>149</sup> Manuscript 4QH<sup>b</sup> preserves the same large collection as 1QH<sup>a</sup> meaning that the large collection of Thanksgiving Psalms would have been put together by the middle of the first century BCE.<sup>150</sup>

Most of the seven Thanksgiving Psalms studied in this dissertation belong to the more fragmentary beginning and end of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup>. A more detailed study of these psalms has become possible after the material reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. When 1QH<sup>a</sup> was found, the upper part of the manuscript had decayed due to moisture resulting from lying on the ground. Some sheets were attached together, forming a continuous scroll, but the rest of the manuscript was scattered across various fragments. Thus, the original order of the columns, the amount of lines per column, and the extent of each psalm were difficult to determine. To reconstruct this information, Hartmut

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<sup>145</sup> Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 39. The beginning of the manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup> is lost, so no (possible) original title is preserved.

<sup>146</sup> Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 122.

<sup>147</sup> On 1QH<sup>a</sup>, cf. E. Puech, “Hodayot,” EDSS 1:366; on the Cave 4 manuscripts, see Eileen M. Schuller, “Hodayot” in *Qumran Cave 4: 20, Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2*, ed. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 85, 129–30, 180, 196, 202, 211.

<sup>148</sup> Puech, “Hodayot,” 366.

<sup>149</sup> Hartmut Stegemann, “Number of Psalms in 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> and Some of Their Sections,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000*, ed. E. G. Chazon; STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 209.

<sup>150</sup> Schuller, “Hodayot,” 74–75. According to Puech, 4QH<sup>b</sup> was copied shortly after 100 BCE, and, therefore, “the sequence of the Hymns in 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> was known at least by about 100 BCE”; Puech, “Hodayot,” 366. Angela Kim Harkins argues that manuscript 4QH<sup>b</sup> did not include the psalms situated in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 1–8; Angela Kim Harkins, “A New Proposal for Thinking about 1QH<sup>a</sup> Sixty Years after Its Discovery,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited, Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*, ed. D. K. Falk et al.; STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 125–30.



Stegemann developed a method called material reconstruction in the 1960s.<sup>151</sup> According to this method, it is assumed that manuscripts were stored as scrolls. Because the manuscripts were rolled, the damage they suffered (e.g., worm holes) appear in the same place in each layer. Scholars have thus searched for similar patterns of damage to discover the place of the fragment on the original scroll. Because the manuscripts were originally rolled, the distance between similarly shaped fragments increases by a couple of millimeters for each revolution of the scroll. One strength in this method is that it is based on the physical characteristics of a scroll (e.g., the color and thickness of the leather) and not the content.<sup>152</sup> The material reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> has been considered as reliable, since two scholars, Hartmut Stegemann and Émile Puech, working independently drew similar conclusion using the methodology.<sup>153</sup> Elisha Qimron—who has published the most recent edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup>—also accepts the results of Stegemann’s reconstruction for the most part, though he does challenge some placements of the fragments and many readings.<sup>154</sup>

The manuscript of 1QH<sup>a</sup> was originally circa 4.5 meters long. It comprised seven sheets divided up into 28 columns, each column originally containing 41 or 42 lines. The sheets found together in Cave 1 form the center part of the manuscript (cols. 9–20), while the separate fragments originate either from the beginning or the end of the manuscript. The first and last columns of the manuscript could not be reconstructed, but significant parts of columns 4–8 and 21–26 were reconstructed from the fragments.<sup>155</sup> The hands of three scribes are evident in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Scribe A copied the manuscript until 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:25. For an unknown reason, scribe B copied only few lines: from the middle of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:25 until the fourth word in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:29. From 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:29 onwards, scribe C copied the manuscript until its end.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> This method has been applied and further developed by several scholars both in collaboration with and independent from Stegemann; cf. Mika S. Pajunen, *The Land to the Elect and Justice for All: Reading Psalms in the Dead Sea Scrolls in Light of 4Q381*, JAJSup 14 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 29–30.

<sup>152</sup> Hartmut Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. L.H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 193–97.

<sup>153</sup> Hartmut Stegemann, “The Material Reconstruction of Psalms in 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup> and Some of Their Sections,” in *Liturgical Perspectives: Prayer and Poetry in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fifth Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 19–23 January, 2000*, ed. E. G. Chazon; STDJ 48 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 274. Concerning Puech’s material reconstruction, cf. Émile Puech, “Quelques aspects de la restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH),” *JJS* 39 (1988): 38–55.

<sup>154</sup> Qimron, *Megilot*, xxx; Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 125.

<sup>155</sup> The manuscript contains forty-one ruled lines, but scribe C added a forty-second line to the bottom margins (from col. 19 onwards); Stegemann, “The Material Reconstruction,” 276.

<sup>156</sup> Hartmut Stegemann and Eileen M. Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>, with Incorporation of 1QHodayot<sup>b</sup> and 4QHodayot<sup>a-f</sup>*, DJD 40 (Oxford: Clarendon, 2009), 241–42. On studying the scribal hand in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, cf. Schuller, “Recent Scholarship,” 123. Annette Steudel suggests that one of the scribes that copied 1QH<sup>a</sup> also copied 4QD<sup>a</sup> (4Q266); Annette Steudel,

The critical Hebrew text of the Thanksgiving Psalms used in this dissertation was published in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert (DJD) series by Stegemann and Schuller in 2009.<sup>157</sup> The English translation is Carol Newsom's translation, published in the study edition of the Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>158</sup> This translation is a slightly revised version of the earlier translation she had published in the DJD edition. The *editio major* published in the DJD series is the first critical edition in which the results of the material reconstruction are reproduced in full. Therefore, its line numbering differs from that of its previous editions.<sup>159</sup> The fragmentary text of 1QH<sup>a</sup> is also reconstructed with the help of other Hodayot manuscripts. The parallels between different manuscripts demonstrate that the wordings of the Thanksgiving Psalms were quite stable, the differences being mostly orthographic or morphological.<sup>160</sup>

A unifying factor of the seven Thanksgiving Psalms chosen for this study is that they all include various sapiential elements. When selecting the sources, I utilized Sarah Tanzer's study on wisdom in the Thanksgiving Psalms. In her doctoral dissertation (1987), Tanzer divides the Thanksgiving Psalms into three groups: Strong Wisdom Hodayot, Limited Wisdom Hodayot, and Non-Wisdom Hodayot. The Strong Wisdom Hodayot include three types of wisdom elements: forms, themes, and vocabulary. Furthermore, in addition to the purpose of giving thanks and praising God, these psalms can be described as didactic or hortatory. Tanzer finds fewer sapiential forms, themes and vocabulary in the Limited Wisdom Hodayot, but she acknowledges that this may be due to the fragmentary nature of her sources. The Limited Wisdom Hodayot may, in fact, simply be poorly preserved Strong Wisdom Hodayot. Thus, instead of three categories, only two categories (Strong Wisdom Hodayot and Non-Wisdom Hodayot) may be needed. The Non-Wisdom Hodayot, on the other hand, lack any sapiential forms, with sapiential themes and words found only occasionally. Furthermore, the Non-Wisdom Hodayot cannot be described as didactic, but they give

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"Assembling and Reconstructing Manuscripts," in *The Dead Sea after Fifty Years. Vol. 1*, ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 519, n. 14. The ink of 1QH<sup>a</sup> indicates that 1QH<sup>a</sup> was copied in the Dead Sea area; Ira Rabin et al., "On the Origin of the Ink of the Thanksgiving Scroll (1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>)," *DSD* 16 (2009): 100.

<sup>157</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*.

<sup>158</sup> Eileen M. Schuller and Carol A. Newsom. *The Hodayot (Thanksgiving Psalms): A Study Edition of 1QH<sup>a</sup>*, EJL 36; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2012).

<sup>159</sup> Different line and column numbering have been used in the research history of the Thanksgiving Psalms. In this dissertation, only the line and column numbering of DJD 40 are utilized, on which see Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 49–53.

<sup>160</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*; Schuller, "Hodayot," 74.

thanks to God for deliverance and for the special position of the speaker. All Non-Wisdom Hodayot are so-called Teacher Hymns.<sup>161</sup>

Tanzer acknowledges the difficulty of defining which elements are sapiential, because the wisdom corpus (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Job, Sirach, and Wisdom of Solomon) include a diverse range of forms, themes, and vocabulary.<sup>162</sup> Therefore, instead of defining at the beginning of her study what constitutes “wisdom in the Hodayot,” the definition is formulated after analyzing the sources in relation to the five wisdom compositions found in the Septuagint. As a result, Tanzer argues that the Thanksgiving Psalms include the following sapiential elements. First, the formal elements include rhetorical questions and statements, sapiential exhortations, and sapientialized benedictions. Second, Tanzer recognizes altogether sixteen themes found in both the Thanksgiving Psalms and at least one of the five wisdom compositions. These include, for example, the promise of reward for the righteous and retribution for the wicked, predetermination, and creation theology. Tanzer recognizes also four themes that are not explicit in any of the five wisdom compositions found in the Septuagint but that can be found in the Thanksgiving Psalms: knowledge as enabling mankind to glorify God, God’s attributes as sapiential in nature, wisdom as having been given by God for a purpose, and the evaluation of people by their capacity for insight. Third, regarding sapiential vocabulary, Tanzer compares the Thanksgiving Psalms to R. B. Y. Scott’s word-list of sapiential vocabulary that appears outside the wisdom corpus—namely, in prophetic and poetic compositions. Tanzer finds Scott’s list useful but not exhaustive.

Tanzer, points out something that bears significance on both her dissertation and mine; the word חכמה—rendered “wisdom” in English—seldom appears in the Thanksgiving Psalms, instead preferring words derived from the roots ידע and שכל. This holds true also for other sectarian writings from Qumran. According to Tanzer, the members of the Qumran movement did not use חכמה, because it was not considered suitable for describing esoteric knowledge.<sup>163</sup> Therefore, in

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<sup>161</sup> Tanzer, “The Sages,” 54, 75, 127–29. On the so-called Teacher Hymns, cf. below.

<sup>162</sup> Tanzer probably compares the Thanksgiving Psalms to the wisdom corpus of the Septuagint, because the study of the sapiential compositions from Qumran was still in the preliminary stages in the 1980s, when most of the Cave 4 manuscripts were yet to be published. Studies on wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls demonstrate the plurality of wisdom tradition in the late Second Temple period; Armin Lange, “Wisdom Literature and Thought in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. J. Collins and T. Lim (Oxford: University Press, 2010). However, Tanzer’s inductive approach to the Thanksgiving Psalms as well as her broad categories (sapiential themes, forms, and vocabulary) mean that her results remain applicable to modern studies.

<sup>163</sup> Tanzer, “The Sages,” 15–16, 156–57, 178–79.

neither Tanzer's dissertation nor in mine are the English words "wisdom" and "sapiential" restricted to rendering the Hebrew word חכמה.

The seven Thanksgiving Psalms studied in this dissertation incorporate various sapiential forms, themes, and vocabulary. Nevertheless, these seven psalms do not belong to the category Tanzer labels "Strong Wisdom Hodayot."<sup>164</sup> There are two reasons for this. First, the material reconstruction of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup> was not published at the time Tanzer conducted her research. Although she consulted Stegemann concerning his unpublished material reconstruction, she struggled to make sense of the more fragmentary sections.<sup>165</sup> Second, Tanzer considers shorter units to be independent psalms compared to their identification as individual sections of a longer psalm according to Stegemann, whose research forms the basis of the *editio major* published in 2009.<sup>166</sup> Despite these challenges, Tanzer's observations do remain valuable even after the material reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> has been published. The seven Thanksgiving Psalms examined in this dissertation contain both sections that feature a significant amount of sapiential themes, forms, and vocabulary (the so-called Strong Wisdom Hodayot) and some that features a more insignificant amount of sapiential themes, forms, and vocabulary (the so-called Limited Wisdom Hodayot). The seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms thus stand in clear contrast with the so-called Non-Wisdom Hodayot, in which wisdom elements play only a minor role.<sup>167</sup>

Since the 1960s, the Thanksgiving Psalms have been divided into roughly two groups—first called "thanksgiving psalms" and "hymns,"<sup>168</sup> then "Teacher Hymns" and "Community Hymns."<sup>169</sup> Because this two-fold division has pervaded the study of the Thanksgiving Psalms for

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<sup>164</sup> According to Tanzer, the Strong Wisdom Hodayot are as follows: 1QH<sup>a</sup> 1:1–2:2; 7:26–33; 9:37–10:12; 11:3–14; 11:29–12:36; 13:1–21 (with frags. 17; 15:1b); 15:8–26; 18:16–33 (with frag. 3); Tanzer, "The Sages," 23. The column, fragment, and line numbering are given according to Sukenik's edition. To convert Sukenik's numbering to the reconstructed scroll, cf. Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 49–53.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Tanzer, "The Sages," 129.

<sup>166</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*. On the material reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, see above.

<sup>167</sup> According to Tanzer, the Non-Wisdom Hodayot are as follows: 2:20–30; 2:31–3:4; 3:5–18; 3:37–4:4; 5:5–19; 7:6–25; 17:1–8; 17:9–15; 17:26–13:1; frags. 6, 9; Tanzer, "The Sages," 58. The column, fragment, and line numbering are given according to Sukenik's edition. To convert Sukenik's numbering to the reconstructed scroll, see Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 49–53.

<sup>168</sup> See, e.g., Günter Morawe, *Aufbau und Abgrenzung der Loblieder von Qumrân: Studien zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Einordnung der Hodajôth* (GTA 16; Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961), 169. Several scholars contributed to the rise in prominence of this two-fold division of the Thanksgiving Psalms, for which see Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 120.

<sup>169</sup> See, e.g., Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran mit einem Anhang über Eschatologie und Gegenwart in der Vergündigung Jesu* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 21–23.

several decades, it is necessary to comment on how the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms relate to this two-fold division. All seven psalms can be categorized as Community Hymns, an apt description of which is provided by Newsom:

The normative posture induced by the opening is that of thankfulness, which is specified as thankfulness for God's spiritual gifts to the speaker, which prominently include knowledge and the ability to refrain from sinning against God and to do what God wishes. The all powerful nature of God and the speaker's utter dependency on God are frequent topoi, often articulated as an awareness of the predetermined nature of human conduct, which generates a disposition of humility on the part of the speaker, but which also facilitates the confession of his natural sinfulness and wretchedness, as well as his awareness of the graciousness of God in delivering him from the coming judgment against the wicked and giving him an exalted status in company with the angels. The gift of knowledge enables the speaker the joy of understanding and praising the mysteries of God in creation and judgment. This is the basic repertoire of the Hodayot of the Community. One could also specify recurrent stylistic techniques, such as the use of rhetorical questions, especially those to be answered in the negative, chains of biblical allusions and biblicizing phraseology, and so forth.<sup>170</sup>

Nevertheless, the description of the seven Thanksgiving Psalms as Community Hymns is not particularly useful, because the category of Community Hymns includes various kinds of Thanksgiving Psalms. The seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms can be described as a sub-group within the Community Hymns based on their inclusion of various sapiential elements *and* their interest in the transmission of divine knowledge.

Furthermore, although some studies have criticized this two-fold division of the Thanksgiving Psalms for being too simplistic,<sup>171</sup> the division into Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns is supported to some extent by the manuscript evidence.<sup>172</sup> Manuscripts 4QH<sup>c</sup> (4Q429) and 4QpapH<sup>f</sup> (4Q432) demonstrate that the Teacher Hymns (together with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4) may also have circulated independently.<sup>173</sup> In manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the Teacher Hymns are situated in the middle

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<sup>170</sup> Carol A. Newsom, "Pairing Research Questions and Theories of Genre: A Case Study of the Hodayot," *DSD* 17 (2010): 280–81.

<sup>171</sup> Angela Kim Harkins has made several attempts to distinguish between the different subgroups of the Community Hymns and studied the editorial process of the Community Hymns. First, she takes up Puech's suggestion that the *למשכיל* headings divide the psalm collection into five sections. According to Harkins, following this division into five sections, the Teacher Psalms was secondary addition into the middle of the collection. The second section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–7:20) includes psalms that are more communal in nature; Angela Kim Harkins, "Observations on the Editorial Shaping of the So-Called Community Hymns from 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427)," *DSD* 12 (2005): 236–37, 243–50. In another study, Harkins categorizes the Community Hymns into two groups: Community Hymns situated at the beginning of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup> (= CH I) and those situated towards the end of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup> (CH II). According to Harkins, CH II was first joined together with the Teacher Hymns, followed later by CH I. The Teacher Hymns and CH II share the theme of angelic–human communion; Harkins, "A New Proposal," 103, 110–11, 133–34. On the division of the Thanksgiving Psalms into those that strongly align with the Qumran Community (called *יחד*) and those that do not, see below. Harkins's different ways of grouping the Community Hymns do not help to categorize the seven Thanksgiving Psalms studied in this thesis.

<sup>172</sup> Schuller, "Recent Scholarship," 139–40.

<sup>173</sup> Schuller, "Hodayot," 181. Like Michael Douglas, Schuller finds the content of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 (viz., the creation and the exhortations) suitable for an introduction.

of the manuscript (roughly 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:5–17:36). At least some of the Community Hymns may also have been copied independently, as demonstrated by 4QH<sup>a</sup>, which only includes Community Hymns.<sup>174</sup> However, scholars themselves differ in their use of the term “Teacher Hymns,” because there are different ways to identify which Thanksgiving Psalms belong to this category. In addition to manuscript evidence, Teacher Hymns can be identified based on literary features. Based on the latter, not all Thanksgiving Psalms situated in the middle of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup> are necessarily Teacher Hymns.<sup>175</sup> At any rate, because the division into Community Hymns and Teacher Hymns does not contribute significantly to the analysis of the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, the terms Teacher Hymns and Community Hymns are not employed in this dissertation.

Another common characterization of the Thanksgiving Psalms is that they are sectarian compositions, having originated from a Jewish movement that preserved the scrolls found in the eleven Qumran caves.<sup>176</sup> Different characteristics of content may be used to identify sectarian compositions. According to Puech, the Thanksgiving Psalms betrays similar theological and anthropological views as the Community Rule and War Scroll, also considered to be sectarian works. Such sectarian views include the identification of God’s covenant with one’s own community and the appeal to certain notions of dualism, determinism, and angelology, as well as the theme of the eschatological punishment of evil ones (whether Jewish or pagan) and the eternal glory of God’s remnant.<sup>177</sup> As Newsom approaches sectarianism from the perspective of identity construction, she is not so much interested in what kind of knowledge the Thanksgiving Psalms portray as how the sectarian identity is “constituted by his relation to knowledge.”<sup>178</sup> For example, on 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, Newsom observes how knowledge concerns both God and person’s role in God’s determined plan (cf. 3.2, below); on 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41, Newsom (like Newman) argues that scriptural interpretation is

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<sup>174</sup> Schuller, “Hodayot,” 75.

<sup>175</sup> Cf. the summary of previous studies in Douglas, “The Teacher Hymn,” 245. According to Douglas, at least five Thanksgiving Psalms can be categorized as Teacher Hymns with certainty; Douglas, “The Teacher Hymn,” 256. On the author of the Teacher Hymns, cf. 1.3.3, above.

<sup>176</sup> The term “sectarian” and the nature of the religious group that preserved, copied, and composed the Qumran corpus have been understood in various ways over the past seven decades of research. In this thesis, “sectarian” merely refers to compositions often considered to be composed (and not only copied or preserved) by the members of the Qumran movement. Concerning sects and sectarianism as social scientific concepts in the study of the Qumran movement, see Jokiranta, *Social Identity*.

<sup>177</sup> Puech, “Hodayot,” 368.

<sup>178</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 209.

a significant part of sectarian identity formation (cf. 3.3.2, below); on 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 especially, Newsom observes that knowledge is depicted as enabling one to praise God (cf. 4.2, below).<sup>179</sup>

While Puech considers all Thanksgiving Psalms to be sectarian, Angela Kim Harkins aims to differentiate the various sub-groups within the Thanksgiving Psalms based on their use of what she defines as sectarian language.<sup>180</sup> Noting the absence of three words (בליעל, הרבים, יחד), she argues that the Thanksgiving Psalms situated in the beginning of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup> (up to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:11) and towards the end of the manuscript (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–25:33) lack distinctively sectarian language.<sup>181</sup> Regarding the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, then, Harkins's proposal would mean that the psalm situated in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 belongs to the group of psalms that lack distinctively sectarian language. However, when evaluating single Thanksgiving Psalms, Harkins's method of analysis faces serious limitations. For example, none of the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms preserves the word בליעל.<sup>182</sup> Furthermore, even though יחד and רבים are used as technical terms for the sectarian community and its members, for example, in the Community Rule, the only possible place where the word יחד appears as a technical term is 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:29.<sup>183</sup>

Nonetheless, it is possible that some sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms were not composed by members of the Qumran movement but were only later incorporated into the collection of Thanksgiving Psalms. Schuller finds those Thanksgiving Psalms that are closely linked to non-sectarian wisdom/didactic compositions (i.e., Instruction, Mysteries, Treatise of the Two Spirits) as potential candidates.<sup>184</sup> At least three sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms belong to this group: 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 9:1–10:4; 17:38–19:5. Altogether, Harkins's and Schuller's studies warn against the automatic assumption that the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms were composed by sectarian writers. This dissertation does not engage directly with the question of sectarian authorship but the analysis

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<sup>179</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 209–29.

<sup>180</sup> In her article on recent research history of the Thanksgiving Psalms, Schuller lists a few scholars who have suggested that the Thanksgiving Psalms does not originate from the *yahad*; Schuller, "Recent Currents," 142.

<sup>181</sup> Angela Kim Harkins, "The Community Hymns Classification: A Proposal for Further Differentiation," *DSD* 15 (2008): 141–45.

<sup>182</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 335.

<sup>183</sup> According to Newsom, "it is difficult to determine whether יחד is used here as a proper name of the community ('the Yahad') or as an idiom, 'to bring into association with'"; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 96. For יחד, see 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:36; 19:17, 28; 21:35. For רבים, see 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:24.

<sup>184</sup> Schuller, "Recent Currents," 143.

of the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms may offer useful observation for further studies on this question.

Because this study seeks to explain why the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted differently in different psalms (cf. 1.1, above), the demarcations and structure of each Thanksgiving Psalm are generally discussed in each of the main chapters, though a full analysis of the poetic structure and possible literary layers lies beyond the scope of this study. As for the current task, the analysis of the structure of the psalm serves a pragmatic purpose—that is, to identify thematic units. The demarcations and structure of the Thanksgiving Psalms are studied by noting scribal practices: the use of rubrics, blank spaces, and pronouns. Based on these indicators, three kinds of poetic units are identified: psalms, sections, and stanzas. “Section” refers to a subunit within a psalm, while “stanza” refers to a subunit within a section. Strophes—subunits within stanzas—cannot be identified by observing scribal practices.<sup>185</sup> Nevertheless, if a unit appears at the beginning of the psalm and is shorter than a typical stanza, it is referred to as an “opening strophe.” All Thanksgiving Psalms are written as running texts, meaning that they are not broken down into line division, as is typical of poetry. There is considerable variation in the length and style of poetic line-division,<sup>186</sup> making the identification of individual lines of poetry challenging. Nonetheless, I have divided the psalms into lines to facilitate reading. This division is based, among other things, on the use of parallelism and the particle -ו.

When it comes to the principle of identifying the demarcations of Thanksgiving Psalms, I follow Stegemann’s view on the matter. The beginning of a new Thanksgiving Psalm is usually indicated by a blank space, followed by an opening rubric. While the standard opening rubric in columns 10–17 is אֹדֶךְ אֲדוֹנִי, there is more variation in the Thanksgiving Psalms situated in other columns. For example, three of the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms begin with לְמַשְׁכִּיל rubric. The rubric אֵתָה בְּרוּךְ does not usually indicate a beginning of a new psalm (however, cf., e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38) but the beginning of a subsection. Both scribes A and C began a new psalm with a new line.

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<sup>185</sup> Scholars apply different terminology when analyzing the poetic structure of the Hebrew psalms. In defining a stanza as a larger unit than a strophe, I follow Wilfred G.E. Watson, *Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to its Techniques*, JSOTSup 26 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986), 161. In Watson’s analysis, the stanza is the largest subunit in classical Hebrew poetry. However, the Thanksgiving Psalms include even larger subunits, which I refer to as “sections.” Cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 39.

<sup>186</sup> Bonnie Pedrotti Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran: Translation and Commentary*, SBL Dissertation Series 50 (Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1981), 172.



When a new psalm begins, scribe A indents the first line, if the final line of the previous psalm occupied more than half of the line. However, if the final line was shorter, there is usually no indentation in the following line. Scribe C did not follow the same principles as scribe A. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:6–7, for example, scribe C does not indent the first line of a new psalm (l. 7) even though he copied the previous line (l. 6) to its very end.<sup>187</sup> In addition to the rubric ברוך אתה, short blank spaces and independent pronouns (esp. ו+אני) indicate the beginning of a subsection.<sup>188</sup> The pronoun אלה is used to refer to what has been stated previously in the psalm, and, thus, the pronoun often appears at the beginning of a subsection but not at the beginning of a new psalm.<sup>189</sup> Where possible, I have referred to previous analyses of the structure of the Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>190</sup>

Another objective of this study is to examine the inspired interpretation of earlier traditions as a means to transmit divine knowledge, the studying of which involves various methodological challenges. The Thanksgiving Psalms themselves do not include explicit quotations, nor do they include any explicit discussion of inspired interpretation. Therefore, the term “inspired interpretation of earlier traditions” is an etic category. In this dissertation, the term “interpretation of earlier traditions” is preferred to the more modern term “exegesis,” which can bring to mind fixed written texts and fixed methods of interpretation, since the sources and methods of interpretation were fluid in the late Second Temple period.<sup>191</sup> Even though the allusiveness of the Thanksgiving Psalms has long been recognized, previous studies include little discussion on what kind of interpretive practice underlies these psalms. A welcomed exception is provided by Carol Newsom, though her discussion on different interpretive practices is only one thread in her article that examines how negative anthropology is formulated through interpretive activity in the Thanksgiving Psalms. Newsom discusses shortly three models: 1) memorization and oral performance, 2) communal study, and 3) excerpt collections, of which she considers the first model to be most likely. She argues that if a negative anthropology would have been created through more intentional interpretive practice (i.e., model 2 or 3), similar language or ideas should be found also in other Qumran compositions. The absence of similar ideas of negative anthropology in other compositions

<sup>187</sup> Stegemann, “The Number,” 209–10, 218. In his article, Stegemann calls the scribe who copied 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19–28 “scribe B” but in Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, this scribe is “scribe C”.

<sup>188</sup> For an analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6, see, e.g., Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 103; Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 27.

<sup>189</sup> Stegemann, “The Number,” 214.

<sup>190</sup> For a discussion on the methodology and the analyses of more than one Thanksgiving Psalm, see Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 24–31; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 36–40.

<sup>191</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 295.

could indicate that the interpretation of scriptures is part of the unique poetic process through which the Thanksgiving Psalms were composed. Because memorizing literature played a central role in education in Jewish antiquity, it is possible that the poets were able to weave in relevant passages by memory when composing the Thanksgiving Psalms. Newsom understands this process as being decentralized, since several poets could have contributed to the current form of Thanksgiving Psalms, each adding new allusions to individual psalms and composing psalms that included similar web of allusions.<sup>192</sup>

When studying the interpretation of earlier tradition, the existence of a lexical parallel between the Thanksgiving Psalms and earlier compositions is taken as a starting point. This investigation includes an inherent paradox: even though scholars acknowledge that the oral transmission of earlier traditions must have played an important role alongside literary transmission<sup>193</sup> and because only some written traditions and literary forms of the same traditions have been preserved to modern day and thus, the interpretation of earlier traditions can be examined only by comparing literary works preserved in the modern day. Therefore, the sources used to study interpretation of earlier traditions are always deficient.

Because the identification of lexical parallels is central to the study of allusions,<sup>194</sup> previous studies concerning allusions in the Thanksgiving Psalms are used in this dissertation. The studies done by Julie Hughes and John Enwolde demonstrate that earlier scholars like Svend Holm-Nielsen and Jean Carmignac were perhaps too eager to recognize allusions in the Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>195</sup> Hughes offers a valuable methodological discussion on the identification of allusions which is significant also for this study. First, Hughes notes that the lexical parallel must be significant enough to mark an allusion:

Verbal similarities which merit consideration as possible allusion markers would include the following: (1a) A correspondence with a hapax legomenon in the Hebrew Bible (including any variant readings found in Qumran biblical texts). (1b) A group of words which stand in a similar syntactical relationship in both passages and occur in this combination in only one identifiable scripture passage (e.g. Isa 9:6

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<sup>192</sup> Carol A. Newsom, "Deriving Negative Anthropology through Exegetical Activity: The Hodayot as Case Study," in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. A. Feldman et al.; STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 271–73.

<sup>193</sup> Cf., e.g., Susan Niditch, *Oral World and Written Word: Ancient Israelite Literature*, Library of Ancient Israel (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1996).

<sup>194</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 45–46.

<sup>195</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 51; John Enwolde, "The Hodayot's Use of the Psalter: Text-critical Contributions (Book 1)," in *Psalms and Prayers: Papers Read at the Joint Meeting of the Society of Old Testament Study and Het Oudtestamentische Werkgezelschap in Nederland En België, Apeldoorn August 2006*, ed. B. Becking and E. Peels; OtSt 55 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 82–84.

“wonderful counsellor ... mighty/might”). (1c) A more commonly occurring phrase which nonetheless has similarities of meaning or context with one identifiable scripture passage. This would include the case where other more certain allusions to this particular scriptural passage or book have been identified within the poem. (An example of the latter are the multiple allusions to Jeremiah in the first poem discussed in chapter three.) (1d) In the case of (1b) or (1c) the requirement of “one identifiable scriptural passage” may exceptionally be stretched to include a group of passages if a case can be made for some exegetical or other relationship between them, which would enable them to be viewed as an entity.<sup>196</sup>

Hughes’s second point, on the identification of allusions, may be even more important. Reviewing various studies on allusions, Hughes concludes that a reference to an earlier source is not alone a sufficient criterion for an allusion. A reference to an earlier source is an allusion only when the adopted text is somehow interpreted. This definition rules out, for example, idioms that do not include any interpretative aspect even if they may originate from an earlier source.<sup>197</sup>

Most studies that examine allusions in the Thanksgiving Psalms focus on “biblical” allusions, even though the division into “biblical” and “non-biblical” compositions is artificial categories for the study of the late Second Temple period.<sup>198</sup> The books of Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel are alluded to frequently in the Thanksgiving Psalms,<sup>199</sup> but allusions to Instruction are likewise numerous.<sup>200</sup> When analyzing the interpretation of earlier traditions, I will thus discuss also the interpretation of non-biblical traditions, though I acknowledge the difficulties of being comprehensive due to the amount of potential sources to consider given such an approach and because there are many ancient compositions or parts of them that have not been preserved.

A final note on the inspired interpretation of earlier tradition concerns the notion of inspiration itself. The interpretation of earlier traditions can be found in different sections of Thanksgiving Psalms; thus, for the purposes, it is necessary to limit the scope of the analysis. As this study focuses on the transmission of divine knowledge, the interpretation of earlier traditions in sections that include divinely revealed knowledge are of interest. Of the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms examined in this dissertation, such sections may be found in four Thanksgiving

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<sup>196</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 53. Hughes’s guidelines are used also by Newsom; Newsom, “Deriving,” 264.

<sup>197</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 44–55.

<sup>198</sup> Eva Mroczek, “The Hegemony of the Biblical in the Study of Second Temple Literature,” *JAJ* 6 (2015), 2–3, 33–34; Jutta Jokiranta et al., “Changes in Research on Judaism in the Hellenistic and Early Roman Periods,” *Studia Theologica* 72 (2018): 8–11.

<sup>199</sup> Tanzer, “Biblical Interpretation,” 256–58. It is characteristic of the Thanksgiving Psalms to bring together various older traditions; Tanzer, “Biblical Interpretation,” 265.

<sup>200</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 300.

Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 20:7–22:42).<sup>201</sup> In addition to a reference to supposedly divine knowledge, the interpretation of earlier traditions can also be considered inspired when the speaker portrays himself as inspired—that is, possessing God’s spirit. Both such aspects can be found in three psalms attributed to the wisdom teacher (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42). Previously, Judith Newman has examined 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 20:7–22:42 from the latter perspective, studying the Thanksgiving Psalms as the products of a wisdom teacher who possessed the divine spirit and was therefore able to compose psalms through an interpretation of the scriptures.<sup>202</sup> Newman’s approach is wider than mine, as I focus on a specific function of inspired interpretation: the transmission of divine knowledge.

In this dissertation, some sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms are also considered to contain divinely revealed knowledge, though this does not apply to psalms as a whole. Furthermore, even though some Thanksgiving Psalms seem to include sections depicting supposedly divinely revealed knowledge, the Thanksgiving Psalms cannot be characterized themselves as visionary reports. The importance of visionary experiences and practices has been argued for lately by Harkins, who reads the Thanksgiving Psalms as visionary reports, meditation on which can generate new visionary experiences. Harkins’s analysis focuses on manuscript 4QH<sup>b</sup> (4Q428), which, according to her, includes only the Thanksgiving Psalms that are situated in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, in columns 9–28.<sup>203</sup> Harkins reads the Thanksgiving Psalms both synchronically and diachronically. Synchronically, the ancient reader reenacts a journey from places of punishment to heavens through paradise. The diachronical reading, on the other hand, explains how, by meditating on the Thanksgiving Psalms and reenacting the emotions depicted, new Thanksgiving Psalms can be produced.<sup>204</sup> Newsom rightly criticizes Harkins for studying the Thanksgiving Psalms as visionary reports instead of as psalms, pointing out that there are other types of religious experiences than the ecstatic ones that may explain the emotional patterns of experience in the Thanksgiving Psalms, as the biblical psalms also depict similar kinds of experiences.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Cf. 3.4; 4.2.2, below. Based on the analysis below, this identification of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 is uncertain; see 2.2.1, below.

<sup>202</sup> Newman, “Speech and Spirit,” 246–52.

<sup>203</sup> Harkins, *Reading*, 10–11.

<sup>204</sup> Harkins, *Reading*, 268–72.

<sup>205</sup> Carol A. Newsom, review of A. K. Harkins, *Reading with an “I” to the Heavens: Looking Qumran Hodayot through the Lens of Visionary Traditions*, *DSD* 21 (2014): 83–84.

However, the role of emotions, religious experiences, and the interpretation of earlier traditions have been analyzed also by scholars who do not claim that the Thanksgiving Psalms are visionary reports. Seth Sanders, for example, has studied how old myths and stories were interpreted, experienced, and enacted. Sanders uses the so-called Self-Glorification Hymn (of which one version is found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 25) as an example for which an old myth about sitting on the divine throne and resembling gods is liturgically enacted. This role becomes available for sectarian worshippers who read or heard the psalm. In my view, Sanders is not far from Harkins in claiming that “rather than reading elements of life into a sacred text, elements of preexisting texts are used to forge new roles in ritual and thus lay the foundation for new experiences in life.”<sup>206</sup> Another example given by Sanders relates more closely to divine knowledge. In several Thanksgiving Psalms, the speaker describes God illuminating his face or raising his horn/radiance, invoking Moses’s role as an intermediary on Mt. Sinai. The image of a Moses-like figure is strengthened by the speaker’s description of himself also as a mediator of divine knowledge who is in covenant with God.<sup>207</sup> Internalization of scriptures is discussed also by Newman. In the Thanksgiving Psalms, the words of praise are products of the interpretation of torah that is enabled by the divine spirit. The praise is then offered back to the source of torah, God.<sup>208</sup>

For the purposes of this dissertation, it is not necessary to determine a specific *Sitz im Leben* for the Thanksgiving Psalms. Nevertheless, the discussion on the function of the Thanksgiving Psalms is not unrelated, as I do aim in this dissertation to discuss the role of psalms in transmitting divine knowledge. Notwithstanding, the Thanksgiving Psalms remain a crux for scholars, as neither the content of the Thanksgiving Psalms nor the manuscripts reveal for what purpose the Thanksgiving Psalms were used. In the early research history of the Thanksgiving Psalms, Hans Bardtke argued that the Thanksgiving Psalms were recited privately for didactic purposes. This argument was based on both the style of the Thanksgiving Psalms (first-person speaker, God addressed in second person singular) and Bardtke’s view on late psalmody in general, as he did not consider these psalms as serving a cultic function.<sup>209</sup> Contra to Bardtke, Svend Holm-Nielsen claims that the Thanksgiving Psalms were used liturgically, perhaps when new members joined in the community, as described in the Community Rule (1QS). Holm-Nielsen observes that some

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<sup>206</sup> Seth L. Sanders, “Performative Exegesis,” in *Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism*, ed. A. D. DeConick; SBLSymS 11 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 74–75, 79.

<sup>207</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:4; 12:6, 28; 15:26–27; 17:26; Sanders, *From Adapa*, 207–12. On 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6, 28, cf. 2.2.3, below.

<sup>208</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 308.

<sup>209</sup> Hans Bardtke, “Considérations les cantiques de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956), 227–30.

expressions in the Thanksgiving Psalms resemble the parts of the Community Rule that discuss the entrance ritual of new members.<sup>210</sup> Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn argues for the same *Sitz im Leben* but only for the so-called Community Hymns.<sup>211</sup> The specific *Sitz im Leben* suggested by Holm-Nielsen has not otherwise received wide support. Furthermore, a comparison between the Thanksgiving Psalms and fixed prayers found in the Qumran caves (e.g., daily prayers) demonstrates that, if the Thanksgiving Psalms were used liturgically, their *Sitz im Leben* differed from that of the fixed prayers. This is because the Thanksgiving Psalms differ from the fixed prayers in form, style, and content.<sup>212</sup> Therefore, the term liturgical should be understood more broadly as referring to “regularized public ritual performance.”<sup>213</sup>

In more modern studies of the Thanksgiving Psalms, the question about the use of Thanksgiving Psalms have become more multifaceted. Instead of one *Sitz im Leben*, it has been acknowledged that different Thanksgiving Psalms and different collections may have been used for different purposes. For example, manuscript 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427) includes Thanksgiving Psalms that have several liturgical features, as evidenced by the use of plural personal pronouns and the series of blessings, which may indicate a liturgical function.<sup>214</sup> In the case of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, both liturgical and didactic uses have been argued for. Esther Chazon argues that, because the psalms that have several liturgical features (especially description of joint praise by angels and humans) are situated towards the beginning and end of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup>, there must have been a liturgical redaction on the large collection of Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>215</sup> Puech argues also that the large collection of Thanksgiving Psalms served a liturgical purpose. He bases his argument on the headings of the Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to the wisdom teacher (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12; 7:21; 20:7; 25:34). These headings refer to the Thanksgiving Psalm variously as a song (שיר), a thanksgiving (הודות), a psalm (מזמור), or a prayer (תפלה). According to Puech, the headings divide the collection into five parts, reminiscent of the

<sup>210</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 341–48. More recently, Arnold has argued that entrance liturgy is the most likely setting for the Thanksgiving Psalms; Russell C. D. Arnold, *The Social Role of Liturgy in the Religion of the Qumran Community*, STDJ 60 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 212.

<sup>211</sup> Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 33.

<sup>212</sup> Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry*, STDJ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 321–55. However, Nitzan herself seems to understand liturgy more in terms of fixed prayers and cultic gatherings, maintaining therefore that the Thanksgiving Psalms were not used liturgically.

<sup>213</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 299.

<sup>214</sup> Schuller, “Hodayot,” 74–75.

<sup>215</sup> Esther G. Chazon, “Liturgical Function in the Cave 1 Hodayot Collection,” in *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited, Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana*, ed. D. K. Falk et al.; STDJ 91 (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 148–49.

five-part division of the Book of Psalms.<sup>216</sup> Harkins, on the other hand, suggests that the large collection preserved in 1QH<sup>a</sup> could have served a didactic function—contra 4QH<sup>a</sup>, which is more suited for liturgical use.<sup>217</sup>

As the Thanksgiving Psalms include both liturgical and didactic elements, the question of whether the Thanksgiving Psalms were used for liturgical or didactic purpose can be misleading. Daniel Falk argues that the dichotomy of the function of the Thanksgiving psalms as liturgical or didactic should be discarded, suggesting that the Thanksgiving Psalms were simultaneously prayers directed to God and instruction directed to people. Falk's suggestion is not without textual evidence, as both functions are mentioned in the opening strophe of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33.<sup>218</sup> Newman argues also for the liturgical-didactic function of the Thanksgiving Psalms, by describing their function as simultaneously the worship of God and the instruction of those who recite and hear them.<sup>219</sup> It is likely, then, that such use was communal rather than private.<sup>220</sup> That the psalms could have been used simultaneously for instruction and praise is supported by other textual sources from the late Second Temple period. These include Philo's account of how songs of praise were used among the Therapeutae (Contemp. Life 80–9), Colossians 3:16, Ephesians 5:19, and the Book of Ben Sira.<sup>221</sup> Newsom uses Philo's description of the Therapeutae in particular to develop her hypothesis that the Thanksgiving Psalms were recited during joint meals.<sup>222</sup> Newsom also develops Bardtke's idea—mentioned only in passing by Bardtke—that the recitation of the Thanksgiving Psalms served as a spiritual exercise.<sup>223</sup> While Newsom focuses on the average member of the Qumran movement, Elisa Uusimäki examines the recitation of the Thanksgiving Psalms as a spiritual exercise of the wisdom teacher. Uusimäki analyzes the Thanksgiving Psalms when examining the wisdom teacher as a liturgical performer but these psalms could have been examined also under the headings "Maskil as

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<sup>216</sup> Puech, "Hodayot," 366–67.

<sup>217</sup> Harkins, "Observations," 256. Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions*, 84) suggests that the heading in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12 could be used to initiate a series of didactic psalms.

<sup>218</sup> Daniel Falk, *Daily, Sabbath & Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, STDJ 27 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 100–103. Cf. also Tanzer, "The Sages," 35 and the discussion in ch. 4.2.2, below.

<sup>219</sup> Judith H. Newman, "Embodied Techniques: The Communal Formation of the Maskil's Self," *DSD* 22 (2015): 251–52.

<sup>220</sup> Newman, "Covenant Renewal," 289–99.

<sup>221</sup> Daniel Falk, "The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Study of Ancient Jewish Liturgy," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. J. Collins and T. H. Lim (Oxford: University Press, 2010), 631. On the Book of Ben Sira, cf. 3.4, below; Judith H. Newman, "Liturgical Imagination in the Composition of Ben Sira," in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. J. Penner et al.; STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 323–38. According to Armin Lange, the wisdom teacher taught the Treatise of the Two Spirits in a liturgical context; Lange, "Sages and Scribes," 291.

<sup>222</sup> This suggestion was first posited by Bo Reike; Newsom, *The Self*, 198–204. Similarly, Newsom, "Pairing," 279.

<sup>223</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 191.

a Teacher,” “Maskil as an Exemplar in the *yahad* Movement,” or “Maskil as a Spiritual Authority.”<sup>224</sup> The use of the Thanksgiving Psalms is discussed especially in 3.4 and 4.2.2, below.

### 1.5 Outline of This Study

As the previous review demonstrates, the methods and theoretical framework for studying the transmission of divine knowledge in the late Second Temple period has been discussed extensively in the past two decades. The Thanksgiving Psalms have been used as examples of how sapiential and didactic elements, as well as the interpretation of earlier traditions, were important aspects in the transmission of divine knowledge. Especially the Thanksgiving Psalms that contain several sapiential features are important sources for studying how the transmission of divine knowledge was believed to have taken place; thus far, however, these psalms have not been studied exhaustively from this perspective. The sources of this study therefore consist of seven Thanksgiving Psalms that contain various sapiential elements. The seven psalms are analyzed in the three main chapters. Each analysis begins with a description of the overall structure and content of the psalm. The different elements in the transmission of divine knowledge evidenced in each psalm are then analyzed and the transmission process depicted in a table. These tables do not depict every important aspect in the transmission process—e.g., the means of acquiring divine knowledge—but present a simplified version of it to facilitate to a comparison of the elements discussed more extensively in each chapter. At the end of each chapter, a brief summary of the results is then presented.

Chapter 2 presents the analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:41, a psalm attributed to a wisdom teacher. The analysis focuses on 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a, where a wisdom teacher portrays himself as a mediator of divine knowledge. In subsection 2.2.3., the transmission process depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a is compared to the transmission process depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 is not among the seven psalms analyzed in this dissertation, as it does not include a variety of sapiential features. However, because it has been used in previous studies as an example of sapiential divination, it will be used as a point of comparison in this dissertation. Chapter 3 focuses on two similar psalms, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, both of which are also attributed to a wisdom teacher. The analysis here focuses especially on the interpretation of earlier traditions as a means of acquiring divine knowledge. Chapter 4 discusses the remaining four Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> Uusimäki, “Maskil,” 46–55.



9:1–10:4, 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6), all of which depict divinely revealed knowledge as a prerequisite for praising God correctly. How the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in these psalms varies between each one. Finally, chapter 5 discusses the results of this dissertation and how they contribute to the overall study of divination, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and psalms.

## 2. Teachers in the Divine Council

In this chapter, I argue that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 depicts a wisdom teacher as a mediator of divine knowledge. The analysis begins with an introduction to the overall structure and content of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 as groundwork for exploring its divinatory language and ideas in relation to the psalm as a whole. In section 2.2, I focus on the second section of this psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a), where the elements needed to transmit divine knowledge are depicted. The description of this entire process is compared to that of the transmission process in another Thanksgiving Psalm, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6, often used to illustrate divinatory interests in the Thanksgiving Psalms. This comparison evidences the similarity with which the two psalms describe the transmission of divine knowledge. Most noticeably, both psalms allude to the divine council as a source of knowledge. The chapter begins (2.1) with an introduction by way of a discussion on the divine council, important both in the transmission of divine knowledge and as a place of praise.

### 2.1 The Divine Council as a Source of Knowledge and a Place of Praise

In the ancient Near East, it was widely believed that the heavenly beings assembled together in a divine council to deliberate over both divine and human realms. These were the ones who were responsible for, among other things, the creation of the universe. In addition to being in counsel, the assembly is often depicted at banquets and in collective acts of praise.<sup>225</sup> In ancient near eastern literature, common scenes are associated with and similar vocabulary used to describe the divine council. For example, the high god is often depicted at the center of other gods,<sup>226</sup> while the divine council and/or its members might be referred to as the sons of god, the holy one(s), and an assembly.<sup>227</sup>

Especially in ancient Mesopotamian and Hebrew literature, certain people are depicted as mediating the decisions of the assembly to other human beings. First, both inductive and intuitive diviners were believed to be able to commune with the divine council, even if their

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<sup>225</sup> The divine council is mentioned in Mesopotamian, Egyptian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Canaanite, Greek, and Hebrew sources from the third to the first millennium B.C.E.; Min Suc Kee, “A Study of the Heavenly Council in the Ancient Near Eastern Texts, and Its Employment as a Type-scene in the Hebrew Bible” (PhD diss., University of Manchester, 2003), 30–68, 262–63. Concerning the divine council in Homer’s *Odyssey*, cf. Bruce Louden, *Homer’s Odyssey and the Near East* (Cambridge: University Press, 2011), 16–29.

<sup>226</sup> Kee, “A Study,” 260–61.

<sup>227</sup> For a short summary, cf. Jonathan Ben-Dov, “The Resurrection of the Divine Assembly and the Divine Title El in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Submerged Literature in Ancient Greek Culture: Beyond Greece. The Comparative Perspective*, ed. A. Ercolani and M. Giordano (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 11–12.

methods of divining differed.<sup>228</sup> Sometimes, diviners are portrayed as participating in the council, while, at other times, a divinity, as a member of the council, serves as a divine mediator.<sup>229</sup> The prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible include both varying descriptions at length of prophets at the divine council (1 Kgs 22, Isa 6, Zech 3; Dan 7) and short references to the council as the source of true prophecies (Jer 23:18, 22; Amos 3:7).<sup>230</sup> The longer descriptions do not necessarily specify the designation of divine council, but such a scene can nevertheless be discerned, as YHWH is shown surrounded by divine beings, and/or deliberations are portrayed in a heavenly context.<sup>231</sup> Second, in addition to diviners, sages are also depicted as mediating knowledge from the divine council. The Mesopotamian sages or scholars (*ummânû*)<sup>232</sup> even claimed to have inherited the secret knowledge of their profession from the ancient sages (*apkallû*), who had communed with the gods. This knowledge, according to such myths, was passed on from generation to generation in written form. The written corpora contained “the secrets of the gods” and was accessible only to scholars.<sup>233</sup> Traditionally, scholars practiced one of five areas of expertise: astrology, extispicy,<sup>234</sup> magic, medicine, and lamentation; in the Neo-Assyrian period, other areas of expertise were introduced, such as dream interpretation.<sup>235</sup> These two models, direct consultation of the divine council by the

<sup>228</sup> Alan Lenzi, *Secrecy and the Gods: Secret Knowledge in Ancient Mesopotamia and Biblical Israel*, SAAS 19 (Helsinki: The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2008), 62–64.

<sup>229</sup> According to Martti Nissinen, prophets are portrayed in the divine council in Balaam inscription from Deir Alla, as well as in some Old-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian texts; Martti Nissinen, “Prophets and the Divine Council,” in *Kein Land für sich allein: Studien zum Kulturkontakt in Kanaan, Israel/Palästina und Ebirnâri für Manfred Weippert zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. U. Hübner and E. A. Knauf; OBO 186 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2002), 6–17. Recently, Jonathan Stökl has partly challenged Nissinen’s view concerning the Old-Babylonian and Neo-Assyrian sources. Stökl analyzes four textual examples. In two cases, according to Stökl, the divine council appears in a dream, not in a prophetic vision. In the third case, the prophet has no need to visit the council, as the goddess mediates the message from the council to the prophet. Since Stökl distinguishes between professional prophets and those who prophesy only on occasion, he considers the fourth text to describe an ecstatic rather than a professional prophet at the divine council; Stökl, *Prophecy*, 224–26.

<sup>230</sup> Besides the prophetic visions, Deut 32:8–9, Job 1–2, Zech 3, and Ps 82 are illustrative descriptions of the divine council. In Job 1–2 and Zech 3, Satan is introduced as a member of the divine council who makes accusations against humans; Kee, “A Study,” 178–208; 236–41. The Thanksgiving Psalms also refer to the existence of the heavenly council—for example, in reference to the creation of angels (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:25) and to the myth of the fallen angels (1QH<sup>a</sup> 24–25).

<sup>231</sup> For all relevant passages in the Hebrew Bible, cf. Kee, “A Study,” 12–25. Several different Hebrew words are used to designate the heavenly assembly—for examples, קהל, עדה, and סוד.

<sup>232</sup> The notion of science differed in ancient Mesopotamian from to modern understanding. The word *ummânû* refers to an expert who mastered certain fields of what was considered science in ancient Mesopotamia and had access to the extensive range of literature related to their profession. The basic meaning of the word *ummânû* is “master”; Simo Parpola, *Letters from Assyrian Scholars to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Part IIA: Introduction and Appendixes* (Neukirchener/ Kevlaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1971), 6–7.

<sup>233</sup> Lenzi, *Secrecy*, 120–22. Cf. also Perdue, “Mantic Sages,” 141–44. Cf. also Sanders (*From Adapa*, 71–101), who examines how sages identify with Adapa in ritual texts.

<sup>234</sup> Extispicy is a form of inductive divination through the study of entrails; Parpola, *Letters*, 13.

<sup>235</sup> Parpola, *Letters*, 9, 12–15.

diviners and the textualization of the divine secrets by the scholars, coexisted. Indeed, most ancient scholars were themselves diviners.<sup>236</sup>

In ancient Jewish compositions, the divine council is likewise considered a source of knowledge for sages. Even though some compositions maintained that man himself can acquire wisdom, the view that wisdom originates from God became prevailed during the Second Temple period. Such sentiments are expressed, for example, by Elihu in Job 32–33.<sup>237</sup> Also, Eliphaz's speech in Job 15 evidences author's awareness of the notion of the divine council as a source of wisdom, though Eliphaz himself maintains that wisdom rests with the elders.<sup>238</sup> Recently, Seth Sanders has even claimed that, in the Persian period, Judean scribes adopted the Mesopotamian myth concerning an ancient sage and scribe who travelled to the heavens to learn the divine secrets, passing them on in writings. Indeed, in the Judean tradition, Enoch is one such figure, the travels of whom are depicted especially in the compositions today referred to as 1 Enoch.<sup>239</sup> I have argued elsewhere that, in addition to Enoch (1 Enoch 14–16), sages like Daniel and Ben Sira are also depicted as having access to the divine council. Daniel is even able to hear God's words at the divine council and mediate God's words to his audience (Daniel 7). As for Ben Sira, though Sirach 24 is not a vision report like 1 Enoch 14–16 and Daniel 7, Ben Sira is reported to hear Lady Wisdom talking in God's council and is thus able to mediate her words to the people of Israel.<sup>240</sup>

According to Jonathan Ben-Dov, especially Jewish compositions written in Aramaic (e.g., 1 Enoch, Daniel, Book of Giants, and Genesis Apocryphon) readily employ the motif of a divine council, thus reflecting their acceptance of this notion.<sup>241</sup> These compositions portray scenes occurring in the divine council and/or use epithets that allude to the existence of the heavenly assembly. According to Ben-Dov, this tendency is driven by the inclusion in Aramaic writings of local

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<sup>236</sup> Lenzi, *Secrecy*, 121–122.

<sup>237</sup> Alexander Rofé, "Revealed Wisdom: From Bible to Qumran," in *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20–22 May, 2001*, ed. J. J. Collins et al.; STDJ 51 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 4–11.

<sup>238</sup> Job 15:8: "Have you listened in the council of God? And do you limit wisdom to yourself?"

<sup>239</sup> Cf. 1.3.2, below; Sanders, *From Adapa*, 149–52, 228–29. However, the way in which Enoch's figure is depicted in 1 Enoch is shaped also by certain Hebrew prophetic accounts; cf. 1.3.2, below; Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1*, 30–32, 57–58.

<sup>240</sup> Katri Antin, "Sages in the Divine Council: Transmitting Divine Knowledge in Sirach 24, 1 Enoch 14–16, Daniel 7, and in Two Hodayot Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6; 20:7–22:42)," in *Crossing Imaginary Boundaries: The Dead Sea Scrolls in the Context of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. M. S. Pajunen and H. Tervanotko; PFES 108 (Helsinki: Finnish Exegetical Society, 2015), 188–92. On Sir 24, cf. 1.3.3, below.

<sup>241</sup> Nevertheless, some biblical passages demonstrate reservations towards the concept of the divine council because of its polytheistic connotation. Comparing Ps 29:1–2 with Ps 96:7–8, as well as the different versions of Deuteronomy 32:8, 43, Ben-Dov lights on how references to the members of the divine council are changed to references to human beings; Ben-Dov, "The Resurrection," 14–16.

traditions that have much in common with the surrounding Levantine culture. The influences of the Aramaic writings are in turn borne out in several compositions originating from the Qumran movement (e.g., Thanksgiving Psalms; War Scroll), among which include their receptive attitude to the notion of the divine council. The divine council played an important role in the religion of the Qumran movement, as the members of this movement believed that they could communicate and engage with the heavenly congregation. They could stand alongside the divine beings in praise of God, though the closeness of the two congregations varies by source,<sup>242</sup> The earthly and heavenly communities being depicted the closest in the Thanksgiving Psalms, with humans and angels forming a single congregation. On the other hand, in the Berakhot and the Songs of the Sabbaths Sacrifice, humans are said to praise God like angels, but the two communities remain separate.<sup>243</sup> These poetic compositions develop earlier traditions that had portrayed the heavenly beings gathered before God in acts of praise (cf., e.g., Ps 29:1–2; 89:6; 103:20–21; 148:1–2).<sup>244</sup>

In the following sections, I explore how the concept of divine council is utilized in the Thanksgiving Psalm attested in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42. Here, the divine council is not associated merely with the praise of God but is considered a source of knowledge for the wisdom teacher, a notion found also in 1 Enoch 14–16, Daniel 7, and Sirach 24. Subsection 4.4.2 will return to the topic of the divine council, where I discuss the relationship between the divine council and praise and knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6.

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<sup>242</sup> Ben-Dov, “The Resurrection,” 14–27.

<sup>243</sup> Chazon, “Human and Angelic,” 35–43. Cf., e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:17–18; 8:14–16; 26:9–14.

<sup>244</sup> For further details, cf., e.g., Kee, “A Study,” 209–230; Ben-Dov, “The Resurrection,” 13–14. Concerning the joint angelic-human praise, cf. also the end of 4.2.2, below.

**First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–14a<sup>246</sup>**

7 [למשכי] ל[ה] וְדוֹת<sup>247</sup> ותפלה להִתְנַפֵּל והתחנן תמיד  
מקצ לקצ

עם מבוא אור 8 לְמִמְשָׁן [לתו]  
בתקופות<sup>248</sup> יום לתכוננו לחוקות מאור גדול  
בפנות ערב ומוצא 9 אור  
ברשית ממשלת חושך  
למועד לילה בתקופתו  
לפנות בוקר ובקצ 10 הָאֶסְפוּ לְמַעֲוֵנָתוֹ מִפְּנֵי {ת}<sup>249</sup>  
אור  
למוצא לילה ומבוא יומם תמיד  
בכול 11 מולדי עת  
יסודי קצ  
ותקופת מועדים בתכונם באותותם  
לכול 12 ממשלתם בתכון  
נאמנה מפי אל  
ותעודת הוֹוה  
והיֵאֵה תהיה  
13 ואין אפס

**First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–14a**

7. [For the Instruc]tor, [th]anksgiving and prayer for prostrating oneself and supplicating continually at all times:

with the coming of light 8. for [its] domin[ion];  
at the midpoints of the day with respect to its  
arrangement according to the rules for the  
great light;  
when it<sup>255</sup> turns to evening and light goes forth  
9. at the beginning of the dominion of  
darkness at the time appointed for night at its  
midpoint,  
when it turns toward morning;  
and at the time that 10. it is gathered in to its  
dwelling place before (the approach of) light,  
at the departure of night and the coming of  
day, continually,  
at all the 11. birthings of time,  
the foundations of the seasons,  
and the cycle of the festival in the order fixed  
by their signs,  
for all 12. their dominion in proper order,  
reliably, at the command of God.  
It is a testimony of that which exists.  
This is what shall be,  
13. and there shall be no end.

<sup>245</sup> The Hebrew text is given according to Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, and the English translation is given according to Schuller & Newsom, *The Hodayot*. However, I have divided the text into sections, stanzas, and verses myself. Concerning the principles for delimiting sections in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. 1.4, above.

<sup>246</sup> Especially 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7b–14a is difficult to translate. Cf. the translation and comments in Trine Bjørnung Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context in the Thanksgiving Hymns: Linguistic and Rhetorical Perspectives on a Collection of Prayers from Qumran*, EJL 42 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015), 128–29.

<sup>247</sup> The underlining indicates that there is a parallel in another Hodayot manuscript. The different manuscripts are not indicated in this dissertation. For further details, cf. Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 250–70.

<sup>248</sup> The word תְּקוּפָה can be translated in various ways. Newsom suggests an alternative translation for lines 8–9: “with the coming of the light for its dominion throughout the course of the day . . . at the time appointed for night throughout its course to the turning of the morning”; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>* 260.

<sup>249</sup> Scribe C originally wrote לְמוֹנָתוֹ. The corrected form, אֵל מְעוֹנָתוֹ, can be found also in manuscript 4QH<sup>a</sup> 8 ii 13. As for {ת}, the scribe had first written מִפְּנֵי but the *taw* was later marked with deletion dots and erased. The parallel line in 4QH<sup>a</sup> 8 ii 13 reads מִפְּנֵי; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 256.

<sup>255</sup> The turning of evening and going forth of light seems to refer to the course of the day. Newsom adds the word “it” to her translation but M. Wise et al. are more explicit, translating “as the day turns to evening”; M. Wise et al., “1QH<sup>a</sup>,” in *Poetic and Liturgical Texts. Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Part 5*, ed. D. W. Parry and E. Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 57.

וזולתה לוא היה  
ולוא יהיה עוד  
כי אל הַ[ו]ד[י]עוֹת<sup>250</sup> 14 הכינה  
ואין אחר עמו

Apart from it<sup>256</sup> nothing has existed  
nor shall yet be.  
Truly, the God of knowledge 14. has  
established it,  
and there is none other with him.

**Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a**

ואני מְשַׁכֵּל ידעתיכה אלי ברוח 15 אשר נתתה בי  
ונאמנה שמעתי לסוד פלאכה  
ברוח קִדְשְׁכָה 16 [פ]תחתה לתוכי דעת ברז שכלכה  
ומעין גבורתִּי [כה] הַ[ת]וֹךְ 17 [יראיכ] הַ  
לְרֹב חסד וקנאת כלה  
והשבתִּי [ ]  
18 [ ] [ל] בְּהִדְר כבודכה לאור עֲוֹלָם [ ]  
19 [מ] פֶּחַד רשעה  
ואין רמיה וְ[ ] ול [ ]  
20 [ ] מְוֹעֲדֵי שִׁמְמָה כִּי־אֵין עֵין [ ]  
21 [ו] אֵין עוד מדהבה  
כִּי־לִפְנֵי אִפְכָּה [ ]  
22 [בֹּ] יִחְפְּזוּ  
ואין צדיק עִמָּכָה [כָּה]  
23 וְ[ל]הִשְׁכִּיל בְּכֹל רִזִּיכָה  
ולשיב דְּבַר [ ] עַל מִשְׁפָּטִיכָה  
ולטובכה יִצְפוּ  
כִּי־בַחֲסֹד [כה] כֹּוֹל 25 יודעיכה  
ובקצ כבודכה יִגִּילוּ ולִפִּי [ ]  
כִּי־אֶשְׁכַּלֶּם 26 הַגִּשְׁתָּם  
ולִפִּי מִמִּשְׁלָתָם יִשְׁרָתוּכָה לִמְפִּלְגָּה [יהם]  
לֹא לְשׁוֹב מִמֶּכָה  
27 וְלֹא לְעִבּוֹר עַל דְּבָרְכָה

**Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a**

And I, the Instructor, I know you, my God,  
by the spirit 15. that you have placed in me.  
Faithfully have I heeded your wondrous secret  
counsel.  
By your holy spirit 16. you have [o]pened up  
knowledge within me through the mystery of  
your wisdom  
and the fountainhead of [your] pow[er ...]h in  
the midst 17. [of those who fear yo]u,  
for abundant kindness, but also a zeal for  
destruction,  
and you have made an end[...]  
18. [...] / [...] with the splendor of your glory for  
and etern[al] light [...]  
19. [...] from] dread of wickedness,  
and there is no deception and [... w/ ]  
20. [...] appointed times of destruction, for  
there is no mo[re ..]  
21. [...] and] there is no more oppression,  
for before yo[ur] anger [...]  
22. [...] they make haste.  
No one is righteous beside you [...]kh  
23. and [to] have insight into all your  
mysteries,  
and to answer [concerning your judgments...]  
24. with your reproach,  
and they will watch for your goodness,  
for in [your] kindness [...]al] 25. who know you.  
In the time of your glory they will rejoice, and  
according to<sup>o</sup> [...] fo]r according to their insight  
26. you bring them near,  
and according to their dominion they serve  
you in [their] division[s,  
neither] turning from you  
27. nor transgressing your word.

<sup>250</sup> There are also deletion dots written by a scribe above the erased letters.

<sup>256</sup> The pronoun probably refers to the testimony mentioned in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:12.





|  |  |
|--|--|
| 40. h[...]   | 40 ה [ ]   |
| 41. k[...]   | 41 כ [ ]   |
| 42. and °[...]   | 42 ו [ ]   |
| 21:1. [...]  | 21:1 [ ]   |
| 2. [... trans]gression, one born of wo[man]                | 2 [פ]שע ילוד א[שה]                               |
| 3. [...]your [...] your righteousness                      | 3 [י]כה וצדקתכה                                  |
| 4. [...] and] h[o]w can I dis[cern] un[l]ess I see this    | 4 [ו]א[י]כ[ה] א[ב]י[ר] א[ב]י[ר] ו[א]ראיתי זאת    |
| 5. [or understand these things unless you give me insight; | 5 [ו]אבין באלה בלוא השכלתני                      |
| and ho]w can I see unless you have opened my eyes,         | ואיכ[ה] אביט בלוא גלית[ה] עיני                   |
| or hear 6. [unless...] <sup>°°°°</sup> my [m]ind was       | ואשמעה 6 [בלוא] °°°° השם [ל]בבי                  |
| appalled,  | כיא לערל אוזן נפתח דבר                           |
| for to the uncircumcised ear the matter was                | ולב 7 [האבן יתבונן בנ]פלאות                      |
| opened,  | ואדעה כיא לכה עשיתה אלה אלי                      |
| and the heart 7. [of stone perceives wo]nders.             | ומה בשר 8 [כיא] כ[ה] להפליא                      |
| And I know that for yourself you have done                 | ובמחשבתכה להגביר                                 |
| these things, O my God.                                    | ולהבין כול לכבודכה                               |
| What is flesh 8. [that yo]ur [...] to act                  | 9 [ ] ° בַצבא דעת לספר לישר גבורית               |
| wondrously,  | וחוקי נכונות לילוד 10 [אשה]                      |
| and by means of your plan to act mightily                  | ו [ ] הַבִּיאֹתָ בברית עמכה                      |
| and to establish everything for your glory.                | ותגלה <sup>252</sup> לב עפר להשמר 11 [מן] ול [ ] |
| 9. [...]° with the heavenly host of knowledge in           | מפחי משפט לעומת <sup>253</sup> רחמיכה            |
| order to recount flesh the mighty acts                     | ואני יצר 12 [חמר ומגבל מים]                      |
| and the established statutes to one born of 10.            | מבנה ע[פ]ר ולב האבן                              |
| [woman.  | למי נחשבתי עד זאת                                |
| And ...] you have brought into covenant with               | כיא 13 [ת]קנתה באוזן עפר                         |
| you,   | ונהיות עולם תקותה בלב 14 האבן                    |
| and you have uncovered the heart of dust                   | ו [ ] ° השבתה להביא בברית עמכה                   |
| that it might guard itself 11. [from ... and / ...]        |  |
| from the snares of judgment corresponding to               |  |
| your compassion.   |  |
| And as for me, a vessel 12. [of clay and thing             |  |
| mixed with water,  |  |
| a structure of d]ust and a heart of stone,                 |  |
| with whom shall I be reckoned until this?                  |  |
| Truly, 13. [... you] have set straight in the ear          |  |
| of dust,   |  |
| and that which will be forever you have                    |  |
| engraved on the heart 14. [of stone.                       |  |
| And ...]° you have refrained from bringing into            |  |
| covenant with you,   |  |

<sup>252</sup> The last letter of the word is marked with deletion dots. Cf. also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:31; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*, 261.

<sup>253</sup> 4QH<sup>a</sup> reads לערמת. It is not known which reading is original; Schuller, "Hodayot," 117.



Fourth section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:31b–22:34aFourth section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:31b–22:34a

|   |                                 |  |
|---|---------------------------------|--|
| [ | ואני יצר ה־]                    | And as for me, a vessel, <i>h</i> <sup>o</sup> [...]                                   |
|   | 32. [...]                       | 32. [...]  |
|   | מה יתחזק לכה                    | How shall he strengthen himself before you?  |
|   | אתה אֵל הַדְּעוֹת               | You are God of knowledge,  |
|   | כִּי לְ                         | al[...]  |
|   | 33. [...]                       | 33. [...] you do them.   |
|   | עשיתם                           | And apart from you not <i>p</i> <sup>oooo</sup> [...]                                  |
| [ | ומבלעדיכה לוא פ־]               | 34. [And as for me, a ve]ssel of dust,   |
|   | 34 [ואני י־] צֶרֶף העפר         | I know by the spirit that you have placed in me  |
|   | ידעתי ברוח אשר נתתה בי כִּי־]   | that [...]   |
| [ | 35. [...]                       | 35. [...] <i>mh</i> ev[er]y iniquity and deceit they                                   |
|   | ל עולה ורמיה יגורו יחד לזדון]   | attack together presumptuously[...]  |
|   | 36 [כול מ־] עָשִׂי נדה לתחלויים | 36. [all] unclean [de]eds for sicknesses and   |
|   | ומשפטי נגע ובלת־] עולם          | judgements of affliction   |
| [ | 37. [...]                       | and [eternal] destruction [...]  |
|   | לכה חמה וקנאה נוֹק־]מת          | 37. [...] <i>h</i> <sup>ooo</sup> <i>š</i> <sup>oooo</sup> to your rage and aven[ging] |
|   | 38. vessel of clay              | jealousy [...]   |
|   | 39–42. [...]                    | 38. vessel of clay <i>o</i> [...]  |
|   | 22:1–2. [...]                   | 39.–42. [...]  |
|   | 3. [...]                        | 22:1.–2. [...]   |
|   | 4. [...]                        | 3. [...] <i>y</i> <sup>o</sup>   |
|   | 5. [...]                        | 4. [...] <sup>oooo</sup>   |
|   | 6. [...]                        | 5. [...] ho]lines that is in heaven  |
|   | 7. [...]                        | 6. [...] great and it is wonderful.  |
| [ | גדול והוא הפלא                  | But as for them, they are not able 7. to   |
|   | 7 [הבין באלה                    | [understand these things   |
|   | ולספר נפלא]ותיכה                | or to recount] your [wonder]s  |
|   | 8 [ולוא יעצורו לדעת בכול        | or have the ability to know all 8. [...]   |
|   | ש]אל עפרו                       | re]turn to dust.   |
|   | ואני איש פשע                    | I am a sinful man and one who has wallowed   |
|   | 9 [אשמת רשעה                    | 9. [...] wicked guilt.   |
|   | ואני בקצי חרון                  | And as for me, in the times of wrath 10. [...]   |
|   | לה]תקומם לפני נגע               | to] rise up in the face of affliction  |
|   | ול־שמר 11 מ־]                   | and to guard myself 11. from [...]   |
|   | תוד־]עני אלי                    | you te]ach me, O my God,   |
| [ | 12 [כיא יש מקוה לאיש            | for there is hope for a person 12. [...]   |
|   | מ־על                            | disloyalty.  |
|   | ואני יצר החמר                   | And I, a vessel of clay,   |
|   | נשענתי 13 עֵל זר־]ועכה החזקה ו  | depend 13. upon [your strong] ar[m and ...] my   |
| [ | ואדעה כיא אמת 14 פיכה           | feet.  |
|   |                                 | And I know that your command 14. is true,  |

|                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| [וכול דברכה לוא ישוב] אחור          | [and no word of yours turns ]back.                  |
| ואני בקצי אתמוכה 15 בברית[כה]       | And as for me, in the time allotted to me I hold    |
| מה במעמד העמדתני                    | 15. to [your] covenant                              |
| כיא 16 [ איש                        | [...]°mh in the station in which you have           |
| ותשיבהו                             | installed me,                                       |
| ובמה ית°° [ ]                       | for 16. [...]a person,                              |
| 17 [ ה°°°תה עמצתה °°פ°° ] [         | and you bring him back                              |
| 18 [ °ב יש° ללוא מקו]ה [            | and in what yt°°[...]                               |
| 19 [                                | 17. [...] hš°°°th you are powerful °°p°[...]        |
| ואני יצר° [ ]                       | 18. [...]°b yš° without hop[e ...]                  |
| 20 [ פ]לגתה° [ ]                    | 19. [...]   |
| 21 [ א° אשר ° ] [                   | And I, a vessel [...]                               |
| 22 [ ע]ר°ב וזוקר עם מ°[בוא [        | 20. [...] you [di]vided[...]                        |
| 23 [ נג]יעי גבר                     | 21. [...]° which °[...]                             |
| וממכא°[וב אנוש] 24 תוצ°[א° בשמחה°]  | 22. [...] ev]ening and morning with co[ming of ...] |
| כיא לסלי°[חות יצפו                  | 23. [...] the afflic]tions of a man                 |
| ועל משמרתם°[תיצבו]                  | and from suffer[ing of a person] 24. [you bring]    |
| 25 ונדיבים לוא כ°[לו [              | forth with joy,                                     |
| כיא תגער° בכול שטן משחית            | [for] they look expectantly [for forgive]ness,      |
| ומרצ° [ 26 לי                       | and upon their lookout they [take their stand]      |
| מאז כוננתי ל° [ °בה                 | 25. and volunteers do not fa[il],                   |
| ואתה גליתא אוזני כ° [ ] 27 לוא יבוא | for you rebuke every destructive adversary          |
| כי ° [ °א°                          | and mrs[...]  |
| ואנושי ברית פותו במ                 | 26. to me,  |
| ויבוא [ 28 במבניתי                  | from the that time I was established /° [...]° bh,  |
| ותכמ°[י בתו]כחות לפניכה             | and you yourself have opened my ear k° [...]        |
| ואני פחדתי ממשפטכה° [ ]             | 27. it will not enter,                              |
| 29 [ לפ]ניכה                        | for °[...]'w,                                       |
| ומי יזכה במשפטכה                    | and the men of the covenant were deceived by        |
| ומה אפה°[וא] 30 [ °אנו במשפט        | them,   |
| ושב אל עפרו                         | and entered [...] 28. into my frame                 |
| מה יב°[ז] 31 [ב                     | and [my] bowels [in re]proof before you.            |
| כיא אתה א°[לי פתחתה ללבי לבינתכה    | And I myself was terrified by your judgment[...]    |
| ותגל א°[ני] 32 [                    | 29. [...] befo]re you.                              |
| ולהשען על טובכה                     | And who can be cleared of guilt in your             |
| ויהם לבי° כ°°° [ ]                  | judgment?   |
| 33 [ °[                             | And what then, is h[e] 30. [...]°'nw in             |
|                                     | judgment,   |
|                                     | and who returns to his dust.                        |
|                                     | What can he understa[nd] 31. [...]                  |
|                                     | for you,] O my [Go]d have opened my mind to         |
|                                     | your understanding,                                 |
|                                     | and you have opened [my] ea[r] 32. [...]            |
|                                     | and to rely upon your goodness.                     |
|                                     | But my heart moans k°°°[...]                        |
|                                     | 33. [...]°  |

ולבבי כדונג ימס על פשע והטאה  
עד [תומה] 34 ]

and my heart is like wax that melts because of  
transgression and sin  
34. [... until] its end.

#### Fifth section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:34b–42

#### Fifth section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:34b–42

ברוך אתה אל הדעות  
[ אשר הכינות[ה] ] 35  
ותפגע בעבדכה זאת למענכה  
כיא ידעתי 36 ]  
ולחסד[ך] אֵחִיל בכול היותי  
ושמכה אברכה תמיד  
[ מְקוֹה לְעַבְדְּךָ ] 37  
וְאַל תַּעֲזֹבֵנִי בְקִצִּי 38 [ כִּי הָאֵל וְכַבֹּדְכָה וְטוֹ]בְכָה  
[ ] 39 [ על ב ]  
[ ] 40–42

Blessed are you, God of knowledge,  
because you have established 35. [...]  
and this happened to your servant for your  
sake,  
for I know 36. [...]  
and for] your [kindness] I wait with all my  
being,  
and I bless your name continually  
37. [...] hope for your servant,  
and do not forsake him in times of 38. [...]  
yo[ur ...] and your glory and [your] goo[dness]  
39. [...] concerning b[...]  
40.–42. [...]

#### 2.2.1 Structure and Content

Evidenced in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 is one of the longest Thanksgiving Psalm, extending almost over three columns. There is no blank space to indicate a transition from one psalm to another in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:6–7<sup>257</sup> but the psalm is likely to begin on line 20:7 with a partly reconstructed opening rubric [למשכי] ל<sup>258</sup> Similar opening rubrics can be found in the three other Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>259</sup> The reconstruction [למשכי] ל<sup>260</sup> is supported by the parallels in Cave Four manuscripts 4QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>b</sup>.<sup>261</sup> In addition, the speaker identifies himself as a wisdom teacher later in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14. In the opening rubric, the psalm is characterized as a thanksgiving ([ה] וְדוֹת) and a prayer (תפלה) for the/a wisdom teacher (למשכי) ל<sup>261</sup> for prostrating oneself (להתנפל) and for supplicating (התחנן) continually at all times.

<sup>257</sup> On the different scribal practices in manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup>, cf. 1.4, below.

<sup>258</sup> For such a short passage, the opening rubric and the List of Times contain more scribal errors and corrections than 1QH<sup>a</sup> does in general. Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7 להתנפל, 20:9 ליניות, 20:10 אֵלִמְעִינֶנּוּ, {ת}, מפני{ת}, 20:13 עוֹת {י}עוֹת. According to Schuller (“Hodayot,” 147), this tendency towards error indicates “some problems or reworkings of the manuscript tradition”; Schuller, “Hodayot,” 147.

<sup>259</sup> These psalms are 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 25:34–27:3—the former two are studied in chapter 3, below.

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 252.

<sup>261</sup> Concerning translating the term למשכיל, cf. Hawley, “On Maskil” and the discussion in 1.3.3, above.

It is not easy to determine where the psalm ends, as there are no preserved psalm incipits between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7 and 25:34. Column 20 is the last column of the third sheet, while columns 21 and 22 are reconstructed from separate fragments and substantial parts of these columns are missing.<sup>262</sup> A new psalm could have begun at the end of column 21 or in the first (now lost) lines of column 22. Furthermore, the beginning of column 22 does not seem like the beginning of a new psalm, as it continues the themes introduced in column 21. In this respect, the beginning of column 23 is more likely to be the beginning of a new psalm. The only rubric between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7 and 25:34 thus seems to be 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:34: ברוך אתה אל הדעות. It is unlikely, however, that a new psalm would have started at 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:34. First, scribe C<sup>263</sup> seems to begin a new psalm at the beginning of a new line (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7; 25:34), and the words ברוך אתה are written in the middle of the line. Second, the phrase ברוך אתה usually begins a subsection within the Thanksgiving Psalms, and these subsections are typically situated towards the end of psalms. Third, that the phrase ברוך אתה begins only a subsection within this psalm is corroborated by the use of the pronoun אלה in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:35, as this pronoun seems to refer to the suffering of the speaker mentioned in the previous lines.<sup>264</sup>

Columns 21–22 are poorly preserved, evidencing only a few scribal markings that could indicate a division in the psalm. I tentatively suggest a division of the psalm into five sections (cf. the summary below). First is the introductory rubric (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7a) followed by the List of Times (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7b–14a). The hook-shaped sign at the right margin of lines 7–8 could indicate section division. As Stegemann and Schuller point out, if this is the case, one might have expected the sign to have been written between lines 6–7, not between lines 7–8. Thus, they argue that the sign indicates a division within the psalm—that is, between the introductory rubric and the subsequent List of Times that begins in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7.<sup>265</sup> This need not, however, be the only way to interpret the hook-shaped sign. In the Community Rule manuscript 1QS, for example, section markers written in interlineal margins are sometimes just markers indicating division in the text (cf. 1QS 3:19; 9:6, 20; 10:7; 11:16).<sup>266</sup> In

<sup>262</sup> Cf. Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 251–52.

<sup>263</sup> On the different scribal hands of manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup>, cf. 1.4, below.

<sup>264</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 263, 271, 278.

<sup>265</sup> There might have been a blank space between the introductory rubric and the List of Times in manuscript 4QH<sup>a</sup>: when 4QH<sup>a</sup> 8 ii 10 is reconstructed with the help of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, it is so short that that there could have been at least one blank space; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 253–54.

<sup>266</sup> Concerning the different ways in which sections markers have been used in the Dead Sea Scrolls, cf. Emmanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 168–175. Tov refers to column 20 as column 12 (according to Sukenik) and as column IV (according to Puech).

one instance (1QS 11), the section marker is written between lines 15 and 16, while the section division can be found in the previous line, in 1QS 11:15. Furthermore, none of the section markers in 1QS 3:19; 9:6, 20; 10:7; or 11:16 indicate a major division within the text but rather smaller ones, a new subsection within a psalm like that in 1QS 11:15–16. Thus, it may well be that, also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20, the hook-shaped sign between lines 7–8 indicates a division in the previous line—line 7.

Furthermore, a short blank space at the end of the List of Times (l. 14) and the distinct style and content of the List of Times indicate that the List of Times is a section of its own. The List of Times does not have any verbal links with either the introductory rubric or the following section. Furthermore, the List of Times consists of short nominal sentences unlike the rest of the psalm, recounting how God established the daily circuit of the sun and how everything functions according to God's plan. The List of Times has been interpreted as an enumeration of proper times of prayer, as prayer is mentioned in the introductory rubric of the psalm. Prayer is also mentioned explicitly in a similar section in the Community Rule (1QS 9:26b–10:8a).<sup>267</sup> In 1QS 9, knowing the correct prayer times are even considered one of the duties of the wisdom teacher.<sup>268</sup> Jeremy Penner argues that the List of Times and its parallel in 1QS 9:26b–10:8a both originate from a common source because of the similar but distinct style and vocabulary in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20 and 1QS 9. Penner develops Shemaryahu Talmon's suggestion about a common *Vorlage* but disagrees with Talmon on the content of that *Vorlage*. Talmon argues that the *Vorlage* was a manual that contained a list of all prayers with their times of recitation.<sup>269</sup> However, based on comparative data, Penner has argued convincingly that the *Vorlage* itself would not have referred to praying. Lexically, there are no parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20 and 1QS 9 when it comes to prayer: in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20, thanksgiving, prostrating and supplicating are mentioned, while in 1QS 9 prayer is mentioned, understood as a way of blessing God.<sup>270</sup> Thus, Penner argues that the *Vorlage* would have been interested in predicting the heavenly cycles and recounting the movements of the sun.<sup>271</sup> Only when reworked into both 1QS

<sup>267</sup> Cf. 1QS 9:26b–11:22. For the List of Times as a liturgical calendar, cf. Jeremy Penner, *Patterns of Daily Prayer in Second Temple Period Judaism*, STDJ 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 142–147, 158–164; and Falk, *Daily*, 100–106.

<sup>268</sup> Newsom, "The Sage," 375, 382; Lange, "Sages and Scribes," 290.

<sup>269</sup> Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Emergence of Institutionalized Prayer in Israel in the Light of the Qumrân Literature," in *Qumrân: Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu*, ed. M. Delcor; BETL 46 (Paris: Leuven University Press, 1978), 275–78.

<sup>270</sup> The introductory rubric uses prayer language typical of the Thanksgiving Psalms—i.e., by referring to thanksgiving, prostrating and supplicating. Each term appears several times in different Thanksgiving Psalms. If the reconstructions are correct, these three words even appear together in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:30, which Penner argues is the basis for the introductory rubric in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7 (Penner, *Patterns*, 154), as the verbs "to prostrate" and "to supplicate" are found together also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24.

<sup>271</sup> According to Penner, the *Vorlage* depicted "the daily, seasonal, and annual movements of the sun"; Penner, *Patterns*, 156. However, the parallels are the closest between 1QS 10:1–3 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–10, where the daily circuit of

and 1QH<sup>a</sup>, then, were the cosmological data used to depict proper times of prayer.<sup>272</sup> Although the existence of such a *Vorlage* remains hypothetical, Penner's theory explains sufficiently both the similarities and the differences between 1QS and 1QH<sup>a</sup>.

After a blank space, the second section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a) begins, opening with the independent personal pronoun **ואני** and discussing the wisdom teacher's own account of his role as a mediator of divine knowledge. This section is analyzed in the following subsection (2.2.2).

The third section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:27b–21:31a) likewise begins with **ואני**. However, there is no blank space to indicate section division. Nonetheless, there is a clear shift in theme and style: the third section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:27b–21:31a) and fourth section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:31b–22:33) include meditations upon human craftiness and dependence on God, often in series of rhetorical questions (the so-called *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*).<sup>273</sup> The independent personal pronoun **אני** (together with the particle **ו**) appears frequently in these two sections, perhaps indicating stanza division.<sup>274</sup> The root **יצר** is also repeated throughout these two sections, appearing altogether thirteen times.<sup>275</sup> Unlike other sections of this psalm, the third section includes a web of scriptural allusions.

First, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:27–35 allude to the formation of man from dust in Genesis 2:7 and to God's promise of man's return to dust in Genesis 3:19.<sup>276</sup> The allusions explain human craftiness in comparison with God's power and right to judge.<sup>277</sup> There may also be an allusion also to Psalm 39, which speaks of the perishability of human life and how everything comes from God. A similar

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the sun is described. Regarding the appointed times and seasons, there are only scattered lexical parallels. In addition to the expression **מועדיהם / מועדים / תקופת מועדים**, the individual words **קץ**, **חוק**, and **תבון** are used in both 1QS and 1QH<sup>a</sup>. The appointed times, seasons and years are described in more detail only in 1QS.

<sup>272</sup> Penner, *Patterns*, 152–56.

<sup>273</sup> The term *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* originates from Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn. In *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*, the lowliness of human beings is contrasted with the mightiness of God; Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 27–29. According to Sarah Tanzer, Kuhn is unclear about what distinguishes *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* from *Elendsbetrachtungen*, arguing that rhetorical questions should be understood as an element of *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie* but not of *Elendsbetrachtungen*; Tanzer, "The Sages," 20–21.

<sup>274</sup> For **ואני**, see 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:27, 35; 21:11, 17, [26], 31; 22:8, 9, 12, 14, 19, 28. The second-person singular and plural pronouns (together with particle **ו**) also appear in the psalm but less frequently. For **ואתה**, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:26. For **והם/המה**, see 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:32; 22:6.

<sup>275</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:29, 35; 21:11, 17, 19, 25, 29, 30, 31, 34, 38; 22:12, 19.

<sup>276</sup> The word **יצר** appears in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:29, 35, and the phrases **תשובת עפר**, **שוב עפר**, and **אל עפר** in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:29, 34.

<sup>277</sup> Hughes argues that, although the word **יצר** is often part of an idiom in the Thanksgiving Psalms, the specific context in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:27–35 suggests that it should be considered as an allusion to Gen 2:7 in these lines; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 46–47.



context is found in the Thanksgiving Psalm 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:35, where the speaker states that he remains silent (נִאֲלָמְתִּי),<sup>278</sup> before launching into a set of rhetorical questions whereby the speaker demonstrates how his deeds and knowledge originate from God, as he himself is nothing but clay.

Second, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:6–14 explains how one can be changed from being a mere product of clay to being a recipient of divine knowledge. In these lines, allusions are made to Jeremiah 6:10 (עֶרְלֵי אָזְנוֹן, “uncircumcised ear”) and to Ezekiel 11:19/39:26 (לֵב הָאֲבִן, “heart of stone”).<sup>279</sup> The uncircumcised ear of Jeremiah 6:10 refers to disobedience against God’s word and to the destruction that such disobedience will affect. In Ezekiel, God promises to replace Israel’s heart of stone with a heart of flesh, after which the nation would live according to God’s commandments. In the Thanksgiving Psalm, both expressions, the uncircumcised ear and the heart of stone, are self-referential, as can be corroborated by the speaker’s use, for example, of the first-person singular suffix in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:6 (viz., [לִּ]בִּי). Both expressions seem to emphasize the unworthiness of the speaker, which is further understated with dust imagery, the speaker turning to a description of his “ear of dust” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:13) and “heart of dust” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:10). Such ignorance and disobedience can be conquered only by God, who has granted the speaker knowledge: it is God who has opened a “matter” (דְּבַר) to the uncircumcised ear (1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:6). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:14, God’s promise in Ezekiel is realized, but instead of giving a new heart God engraves knowledge of the eternal on the heart of stone, meaning that God has granted divine knowledge to the speaker.<sup>280</sup> Because the speaker is a recipient of divine knowledge, he can escape the coming judgement and be in covenant with God (cf., e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:10–11).

Third, the description of eschatological rewards and punishments in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:15–31a alludes to various scriptural passages. The rewards and punishments seem to be depicted as two opposite paths. In the first path are the snares of Abaddon (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:21). “The trap” (מַלְכוֹן־דָּת) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:20; פֶּחַ in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:27), “snares” (צִמִּים in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:21, 27), and the “net” (רֶשֶׁת) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:21,

<sup>278</sup> Cf. נִאֲלָמְתִּי in Ps 39:3, 10; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 208.

<sup>279</sup> The expression עֶרְלֵי אָזְנוֹן appears in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:6 and the expression לֵב הָאֲבִן appears in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:[6–7], 12, and [13–14].

<sup>280</sup> Newman, “Speech and Spirit,” 248–49. Cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 258. Newman discusses the role of the divine spirit in this passage. The new spirit mentioned in Ezek 36:26 does not seem to appear at the beginning 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21, but other parts of the Thanksgiving Psalm demonstrate that the speaker believes that God has granted him his spirit; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14, 15; 21:34.

24) that belong to this path allude to Job 18:8–10, where these words appear together describing the destruction of the godless.<sup>281</sup> Both Job 18:8–10 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:15–31a refer also to walking (הלך) in *hithpael*, cf. Job 18:8, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:22)<sup>282</sup> into traps as well as to hidden (טמן, Job 18:10 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:24) snares.<sup>283</sup> The good destiny, instead, is associated with the “paths of peace” (נתיבות שלום, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:23), which alludes perhaps to Proverbs 3:17, where the paths of peace are paralleled with the paths of wisdom. However, the masculine nominal נתיב appears also in Job 18:10, making a connection to Job 18:8–10 more likely. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:25–26, the speaker wonders how he can “be preserved from being divided and from dissolving (like) wax when it m[elts] before the fire” (מהתפרד) (רוח סוער<sup>ה</sup>)<sup>284</sup> and how he “can stand before the stormy win[d]” (ומת{ו}ך דונג בְּהַ) [מס לפני אש] and the first phrase alludes to Psalm 22:15 (English Ps 22:14), where the words “to divide” (פרד), “to melt” (מסס), and a “wax” (דונג) are used together to portray the bodily experiences and the helplessness of the speaker, similarly to the Thanksgiving Psalm.<sup>285</sup> The expression “stormy wind” may allude to Ezekiel 13:11, 13, where the stormy wind is taken to be a sign of God’s anger.

It is possible that the “matter” (דבר) revealed to the speaker in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:13 refers to what is recounted in the third section—that is, the nature of humanity and the diverse paths of human beings. If so, this knowledge was produced by an implicit interpretation of various scriptural passages. However, as the text is not explicit, it is also possible that the use of allusions is a poetic device that helps the speaker describe his experiences of unworthiness and deliverance. In subsection 2.2.3, I will return to question of whether the content of the third section can be understood as divinely revealed knowledge.<sup>286</sup>

The fourth section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:31b–22:34a) continues the style and themes of the third section. As mentioned above, both sections include the so-called *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*. The third

<sup>281</sup> The allusions to Job 18:8–10 are noted in Schuller, “Hodayot,” 148–49.

<sup>282</sup> In Job 18:8, walking refers to people walking into a pitfall; in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:22, the context is too fragmentary to determine what walking refers to.

<sup>283</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:24 reads מטוני, which is to be taken as a metathesis for טמוני. While 1QH<sup>a</sup> reads על מטוני פחיה, 4QH<sup>a</sup> preserves the original reading מטמוני, the nominal form as opposed to the participial מְטַמֵּי; Schuller, “Hodayot,” 118–19. The word מטמוני also appears in Job 3:21, where it is associated with death.

<sup>284</sup> For similar metaphors in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. also 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:34; 16:34; 22:33.

<sup>285</sup> The same topos and the words “to melt” (מסס) and “wax” (דונג) appear together also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:34; 16:34; 22:33.

<sup>286</sup> Cf. the discussion concerning inspired interpretation in 3.4; 4.2.2, below.

and fourth sections are separated by a blank space and the independent pronoun **אני** (together with the particle **ו**). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:34, the following phrase is preserved: “I know by the spirit that you have placed in me that.” The following lines, albeit fragmentary, seem to deal with judgment and destruction. The speaker refers twice (1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:26, 31) to God opening the ear of the speaker, a reference to the granting of divine knowledge.<sup>287</sup> However, the content of this revealed knowledge is not recounted in these passages.

The fifth and final section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:34b–42) begins with the phrase “Blessed are you, God of knowledge” (**ברוך אתה אל הדעות**). As in the opening rubric of the psalm (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:13), God is referred to as the God of knowledge,<sup>288</sup> a title that highlights God as the source of knowledge. While the fifth section is fragmentary, the speaker seems to bless God for what he has done for the speaker. The speaker also expresses his wish that God not forsake him.

In sum, the overall structure and content of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 is as follows:

|  |                              |  |
|--|------------------------------|--|
| <b>First section</b> (1QH <sup>a</sup> 20:7–14a)       | Opening rubric               | Begins with <b>למשביל</b> <sup>ל</sup>                 |
|  | List of Times                | Begins with a hook sign (?) and ends with <i>vacat</i> |
| <b>Second section</b> (1QH <sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a)    | Maskil’s account             | Begins with <b>ואני</b>                                |
| <b>Third section</b> (1QH <sup>a</sup> 20:27b–21:31a)  | <i>Niedrigkeitsdoxologie</i> | Begins with <b>ואני</b> and ends with <i>vacat</i>     |
| <b>Fourth section</b> (1QH <sup>a</sup> 21:31b–22:34a) | <i>Niedrigkeitsdoxologie</i> | Begins with <b>[ואני]</b>                              |
| <b>Fifth section</b> (1QH <sup>a</sup> 22:34b–42)      | Blessing of God              | Begins with <b>ברוך אתה</b>                            |

### 2.2.2 The Wisdom Teacher as Mediator

The second section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a) is an account written in first person singular. The speaker identifies himself as a “wisdom teacher” (**משביל**) to whom God has granted divine knowledge (l. 14),<sup>289</sup> which the speaker characterizes as “knowledge” (**דעת**) and “your [God’s] wondrous counsel” (**סוד פלאכה**). By using the word **סוד**, the speaker implies that his knowledge

<sup>287</sup> On this expression, cf. 4.2, below.

<sup>288</sup> This designation can be found in the Instruction and the Thanksgiving Psalms; Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 272–273. On the relationship between the Instruction and the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. 3.2.2, below.

<sup>289</sup> Wisdom teacher as a recipient of divine knowledge is shortly discussed in e.g., Lange, “Sages and Scribes,” 287; Perdue, “Mantic Sages,” 169; Newman, “Speech and Spirit,” 247–48.

originates from the divine council. Although many words such as *עדה* and *קהל* can be used when referring to divine council, the word *סוד* is particularly used in the Hebrew Bible to describe the disclosure of divine knowledge from God's council. The word *סוד* has a dual meaning, as it can refer either to the divine council itself (as in Jer 23:18, 22) or to the divine counsel or plan revealed at the council (as in Amos 3:7, Job 15:8; Ps 25:14).<sup>290</sup> The word *סוד* is used in this manner also in the Thanksgiving Psalms. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:29, the speaker refers to having access to "God's wonderful council" (*סוד פלאכה*) and thus knowing God's mysteries.<sup>291</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 13:27–28; 18:5–6; 19:12–13, 18–19, *סוד* is likewise used to refer to the disclosure of divine counsel. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:15, the speaker states that he has listened faithfully to God's counsel. These references to divine counsel imply that the speaker is not describing an ordinary sense experience. Furthermore, the two references to possession by a spirit imply that divine inspiration was needed for the wisdom teacher to gain access to divine knowledge (l. 14–15).<sup>292</sup> As with the divine council, such a possession by a divine spirit belongs about traditional notions surrounding prophecy.<sup>293</sup>

As is often the case in the Thanksgiving Psalms, it is not stated explicitly what is the actual content of God's counsel. This is because the focus is on the self-presentation of the speaker. Nevertheless, the counsel may have to do with the divine plan and the coming judgment as its focal point. In the latter part of the wisdom teacher's account (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:17), the speaker claims that revelations are possible because of God's kindness and his zeal for destruction. Albeit fragmentary, the following lines (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:18–27) seem to continue the theme of judgment, referring to "appointed times of destruction" and "the time of your glory." God will destroy wickedness and deception, but the righteous will rejoice. As mentioned above, this coming judgment may be

<sup>290</sup> Kee, "A Study," 12–13, 26. The word *סוד* can also refer to an earthly community and earthly counsel; cf., e.g., Jer 6:11; Job 19:19; Pr 15:22. On the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:24, where the word refers to an earthly community. For a general introduction to the divine council, cf. 2.1, above.

<sup>291</sup> Cf. 2.2.3, below. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:14; 12:26, on the other hand, the divine council (*סוד*) is not described vis-à-vis the acquiring of divine knowledge by a human.

<sup>292</sup> On the role of God's spirit as a mediator, see Jassen, *Mediating*, 368, 374–75. It is unclear to which line the phrase *ברוך קידשבה* belongs (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:15). According to Wise et al. ("1QH<sup>a</sup>," 57) and Berg ("Religious Epistemologies," 179), for example, the phrase ends the previous line, such that the speaker states explicitly that he has listened God's counsel by means of God's holy spirit. The problem with this interpretation is that the following line would then have to begin without the particle *ו*. Regardless of how the line is to be divided, however, the following line also concerns access to divine knowledge, styling God's spirit as a divine mediator.

<sup>293</sup> Cf., e.g., W. Hildebrandt, "Spirit of Yahweh," DOTP: 747–57 and Nissinen, *Ancient Prophecy*, 294–298. Cf. also the discussion on the role of spirits in the Thanksgiving Psalms at the end of this subsection.

presented as divinely revealed knowledge in the third and fourth sections of the psalm. The solar cycle, as the foundation of all seasons, is also part of the divine plan (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:12–14).<sup>294</sup>

As for the role of the wisdom teacher, the second section of the psalm seems to portray him as a mediator of divine knowledge. The word *משכיל* literally means “the one who causes understanding.”<sup>295</sup> Thus, it can be expected that the speaker has students. These people may be referred to in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:16–17, which includes the reconstruction “[those who fear yo]u” (בְּתוֹךְ (יְרַאִי] כֹּה).<sup>296</sup> In the following lines, this group is referred to in the third-person plural pronoun.<sup>297</sup> It seems that, instead of the wisdom teacher, it is God who is depicted as the source of knowledge also for this larger group. The fragmentary line “and the fountainhead of [your] pow[er ...]h in the midst [of those who fear yo]u” here is challenging to understand, though the term “fountainhead of power” does appear also in two other Thanksgiving Psalms, albeit poorly preserved. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:7, the term seems to be a divine attribute that explains that God is the source of all knowledge.<sup>298</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:12, the phrase may refer to the means by which God has made the speakers of the psalm understand his counsel.<sup>299</sup> The latter meaning seems to suit the context of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:16–17, especially considering the previous line, which explains how the wisdom teacher has received his knowledge. Both poetic lines include similar elements: “in the midst of those who fear you” (בְּתוֹךְ (יְרַאִי] כֹּה) seems to parallel “within me” (לְתוֹכִי), while “fountainhead of your power” (מַעֲיֵן גְּבוּרַתְךָ) seems to parallel “through the mystery of your wisdom” (בְּרִזְּךָ שְׂכִלְךָ), which explains the means by which people have gained access to divine knowledge. However, it is equally possible for the “fountainhead of your power” to depict revealed knowledge, paralleling to “knowledge” (דַּעַת) in

<sup>294</sup> I argue that this is the case at least in two other *למשכיל* psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41) and in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. Cf. 3.2.2; 3.3.2; 4.2.2, below.

<sup>295</sup> Lange, “Sages and Scribes,” 277.

<sup>296</sup> “Those who fear God” is used as a group designation in several texts; Pajunen, *The Land*, 360–61. Stegemann & Schuller as well as Qimron reconstruct יְרַאִי] כֹּה, “in the midst of those who fear you.” Stegemann & Schuller (1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>, 256) consider this a possible reconstruction, though it may be too long; cf. Qimron, *Megilot*, 90.

<sup>297</sup> A group of people is referred to also at the end of the psalm, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:24–25. On the other hand, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:6–7 seems to refer to a different group, as this group is not said to have access to divine knowledge.

<sup>298</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:6b–7: for [you, O my God, are a source of knowl]edge and a reservoir of *hm* and a spring of pow[er] (ומעין הגבורה) [...] great in counsel [...] innumerable, and your zeal

<sup>299</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:12: [Blessed are you, God Most High, who by] the spring of your power (ב)מַעֲיֵן גְּבוּרַתְךָ gave us insight [...]

the preceding line.<sup>300</sup> The *lacuna* in the middle of the line “and the fountainhead of [your] pow[er ...]h in the midst [of those who fear yo]u” would, then, have to include a second-person singular verb that parallels the verb “you have opened” (פ[ת]חתה) of the previous poetic line.

The wisdom teacher does not stress his role as a teacher of divine knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42. This may be for two different reasons. First, the speaker emphasizes God’s greatness and active role throughout the psalm and his own inability to do anything without God.<sup>301</sup> Second, the wisdom teacher embodies the ideal sectarian. Divine knowledge is particularly associated with the wisdom teacher, but an average community member might also be described as having access to divine knowledge.<sup>302</sup> Also, both the wisdom teacher and average community members can recite the so-called *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*, where the speaker reflects on his own lowly status in relation to God.<sup>303</sup> The wisdom teacher and other members of the *yahad* are similarly described in the Community Rule manuscript (1QS). The similarities in the description of the wisdom teacher in 1QS 9:12–11:22 and that of the members of the *yahad* at the covenant renewal ceremony (1QS 1–2) reveals that the wisdom teacher in fact embodies the role of the righteous member in the sectarian movement.<sup>304</sup> Thus, in the Hellenistic-Roman period, not only the wisdom teachers in the Qumran movement but Jewish sages in general were represented as exemplary figures to be emulated by their students.<sup>305</sup>

Despite the similarities between the wisdom teacher and other sectarians, however, the wisdom teacher is depicted in distinct roles that distinguish him from others. In 1QS 9:18–19; 10:26–11:7, the wisdom teacher is portrayed as a teacher of revealed mysteries. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a, the wisdom teacher’s role as a teacher is further said to derive from his having access to divine knowledge through the divine spirit and through his ability to listen to God’s counsel. This depiction of God’s spirit as a divine mediator occurs only in the three Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to a

<sup>300</sup> Contra Newsom, Hasselbalch translates the phrase דעת ברזי שכלכה as “knowledge concerning the secret of your understanding” and considers the entire phrase a description of the content of knowledge. She further discusses the word “source” (מקור) as a parallel to the word “knowledge” (דעת), though she may have meant to refer to מעין, as 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:16 does not preserve the word מקור; Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 129.

<sup>301</sup> Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 141–45, 163–66; Newsom, *The Self*, 229–32.

<sup>302</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 198, 209 (n. 34).

<sup>303</sup> Cf., e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5 that is not considered a psalm attributed to a wisdom teacher.

<sup>304</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 103, 107, 167–90.

<sup>305</sup> On the emerge of Greek sages as exemplary figures to be emulated, cf. Pierre Hadot, *What is Ancient Philosophy?* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 220, 224. On Jewish sages, cf. Benjamin G. Wright, *Praise Israel for Wisdom and Instruction: Essays on Ben Sira and Wisdom, the Letter of Aristeas and the Septuagint*, SupJSJ 131 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 165–182 and Newsom, *The Self*, 107, 167, 189–90. Comparative perspectives are offered in Elisa Uusimäki, “The Rise of the Sage in Greek and Jewish Antiquity,” *JSJ* 49 (2018): 1–29.

wisdom teacher, where God's spirit acts as an intermediary between God and the wisdom teacher.<sup>306</sup> In my opinion, then, Shane Allan Berg, is mistaken in considering spirits in general to be agents of divine knowledge in the so-called Community Hymns, as this understanding does not distinguish carefully enough between the descriptions of God's spirit, divine spirits, and the human spirit. Thus, I argue contra Berg that God's spirit is depicted as a divine mediator of knowledge only in the Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to a wisdom teacher.<sup>307</sup>

The wisdom teacher is further distinguished from the average sectarian in what seems to be a depiction of the former as a Moses-like intercessory prayer. According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:17; 5:12; 8:24, the wisdom teacher recites his psalms in full prostration (התנפל), his whole body touching the ground.<sup>308</sup> This position may recall the one Moses, as an intercessory prayer, takes up to restore the covenant, as the root נפל occurs in *hithpael* only in this specific prayer context in the Hebrew Bible—viz., in relation to Moses's and Ezra's prayers (Deut 9:18, 25; Ezra 10:1).<sup>309</sup> Both Moses and Ezra fall into full prostration when they mediate between God and those of his people who have transgressed and, in doing so, restore the covenant. The use of the verb נפל in *hithpael* may thus evoke a similar intermediary role assumed by for the wisdom teacher, as Judith Newman has argued. Furthermore, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:17; 5:12; 8:24 indicate that these Thanksgiving Psalms are to be recited as a supplication for God's favor (התחנן). In sum, full prostration, like *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*, expressed submission before God while, at the same time, elevating the prayer to the status of a Moses-like leader figure. The List of Times in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7b–14a further indicates that the maskil's prostration and supplication were considered “a regular and routinized behavior that is synchronized with the celestial bodies.” This act of full prostration is also likely to be a sectarian practice, since full prostration does not seem to be the standard position for prayer in either Greco-Roman or Jewish culture.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>306</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42.

<sup>307</sup> Berg is nevertheless right in that, in many Thanksgiving Psalms, the anthropology and ideas concerning spirit(s) extend beyond older models; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies,” 173–83. Cf. Carol A. Newsom, “Flesh, Spirit, and the Indigenous Psychology of the Hodayot,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. J. Penner et al.; STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 344, 348–51.

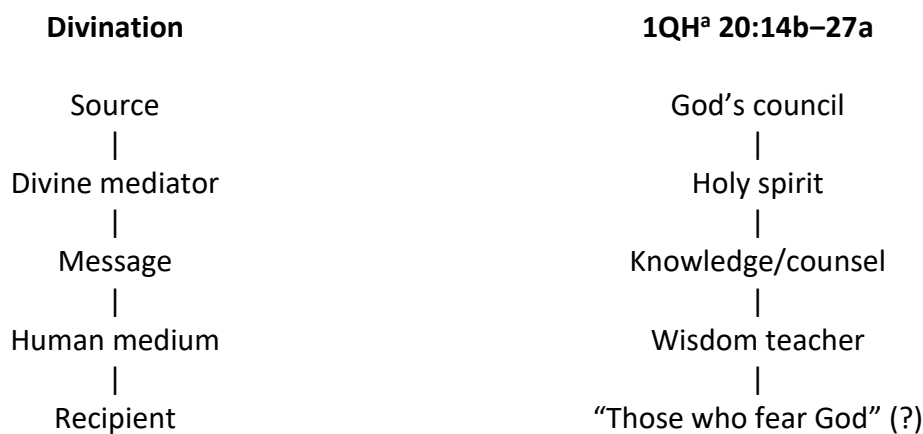
<sup>308</sup> Cf. 3.2.1, below; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12; 8:24.

<sup>309</sup> In the Hebrew Bible, the common posture in worship was assumed by touching one's knees to the ground (השתחוה). The root נפל in *qal* refers to prostration before kings and high officials (e.g., 2 Sam 9:6). On the root נפל in *hithpael*, cf. the description of Moses in Jub 1:19–21; Newman, “Embodied,” 260–62.

<sup>310</sup> Newman, “Embodied,” 259–64.

In conclusion, the process of the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a as follows (see table 2): the source of knowledge is God’s council, from which God’s counsel originates. God’s spirit acts as a divine mediator that enables the wisdom teacher to gain access to God’s counsel and knowledge. The task of the wisdom teacher is, in turn, to mediate this knowledge to his students. The recipients of divine knowledge may be called “those who fear you.” Further aspects are discussed in the following subchapter, where the transmission process depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a is compared to the transmission process of another Thanksgiving Psalm, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6.

*Table 2.* Transmission of Divine Knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a<sup>311</sup>



### 2.2.3 Comparison of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 and 12:6–13:6

As discussed in subsection 1.3.3, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 has in previous studies been considered a prime example of divinatory interests in the Thanksgiving Psalms. Thus, in this subsection, the depiction of the transmission of divine knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 is compared with the evidence found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 to explore the similarities and differences between the two psalms.

Based on the style and content, there seems to be two distinct sections in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6. The first section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–30a) depicts a conflict that involves several parties. According to Carol Newsom, (1) the speaker claims to know God’s truth, but he is rejected by (2) God’s people. Only (3) his own community remains loyal to him, though (4) his adversaries attempt to seduce them.<sup>312</sup> Jassen adds that, in addition to the adversaries, the psalm seems to describe false prophets

<sup>311</sup> A similar table is used by Martti Nissinen to analyze the transmission of divine knowledge in Sir 24; Nissinen, “Wisdom as Mediatrix,” 388.

<sup>312</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 318–25.



with whom the adversaries associate.<sup>313</sup> The second part of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:30b–13:6) focuses on the relationship between the speaker and his God. The speaker confesses his guilt and dependence on God and extols God’s righteousness. There are no blank spaces that would mark section or stanza division, but the psalm seems to be structured according to the use of independent pronouns, key words and phrases, and allusions, as presented below.<sup>314</sup>

#### I. Introduction and complaint against enemies (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–30a)

- A. Introductory stanza (12:6–7b)
- B. The speaker and his enemies, first part (12:7c–14b)
- C. The speaker and his enemies, second part (12:14c–23a)
- D. Conclusion (12:23b–30a)

#### II. Prayer of confession and commitment (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:30b–13:6)

- A. Introductory stanza (rhetorical questions) (12:30b–31a)
- B. The speaker and his God (12:31b–13:?)
- C. Conclusion (?) (13:–6)

#### 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:23b–30a (stanza ID)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| [ו] אָנִי בְּתוֹמְכִי בָכָה אֶתְעוֹדְדָה וְאֶקוֹמָה עַל מְנַאֲצֵי | [And] as for me, when I hold fast to you, I stand strong                               |
| וְיָדֵי עַל כּוֹל בּוֹזִי   | and rise up against those despise me.  |
| כִּי־אֵל 24 לֹא יִחְשְׁבוּנִי [י] עֹד                             | My hand is against all who have contempt for me, for 24. they have no regard for [me], |
| הַגְּבִירָכָה בִּי  | as long as you show your strength through me   |
| וְתוֹפֵעַ לִי בְּכּוֹחְכָה לְאוֹרֹתַי                             | and appear to me in your strength as early light.                                      |
| וְלֹא טַחְתָּה בְּבוֹשָׁת פָּנַי 25 כּוֹל הַנְּדַרְשָׁנִי [י] לִי | You have not covered in shame the faces of 25. all                                     |
| הַנוֹעֲדִים יְיָ לְבְרִיתְכָה                                     | who have been examined by me,  |
| וְיִשׁוּמְעוּנִי הַהוֹלְכִים בְּדֶרֶךְ לְבָכָה                    | who have gathered together for your covenant.  |
| וְיַעֲרֹכוּ לָכָה 26 בְּסוֹד קְדוֹשִׁים                           | Those who walk in the way of your heart listen to be,                                  |
|   | and they marshal themselves before you 26. in the council of the holy ones.            |

<sup>313</sup> Jassen, *Mediating*, 289–90.

<sup>314</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 102–4. Hughes’s structural analysis is more detailed, whereas I have reproduced here only the main sections of the psalm. For other approaches, see George J. Brooke, “The Structure of 1QH<sup>a</sup> XII 5–XIII 4 and the Meaning of Resurrection,” in *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: mélanges qumraniens en hommage à Émile Puech*, ed. F. García Martínez et al.; STDJ 61 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 26–31; Newsom, *The Self*, 312–18; Michael C. Douglas, “Power and Praise in the Hodayot: A Literary Critical Study of 1QH 9:1–18:14” (PhD Diss., University of Chicago, 1998), 99–112.

|                                       |   |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| ותוצא לנצח משפטם ולמישרים אמת         | You bring forth their justice successfully and truth      |
| ולא תתעם ביד חלכאים 27 כזומם למו      | with ease.  |
| ותתן מוראם על עמכה ומפץ לכול עמי      | You do not let them be led astray by the hand of the      |
| הארצות להכרית במשפט כול 28 עוברי פיכה | vile 27. when they scheme against them.                   |
| ובי האירותה פני רבים                  | But you put a dread of them upon your people,             |
| ותגבר עד לאין מספר                    | and (bring) destruction to all the peoples of the         |
| כי הודעתני ברזי 29 פלאכה              | lands,  |
| ובסוד פלאכה הגברתה עמדי               | in order to cut off in judgment all 28. who transgress    |
| והפלא לנגד רבים בעבור כבודכה          | your command.   |
| ולהודיע 30 לכול החיים גבורותיכה       | Through me you have illuminated the faces of many,        |
|                                       | and you have increased them beyond number. <sup>315</sup> |
|                                       | For you have made me understand your wonderful            |
|                                       | 29. mysteries,  |
|                                       | and in your wonderful council you have shown              |
|                                       | yourself strong to me,                                    |
|                                       | doing wondrously before many for the sake of your         |
|                                       | glory   |
|                                       | and in order to make known 30. to all the living your     |
|                                       | mighty deeds.   |

Stanza ID (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:23b–30a) is highlighted here, as it includes many key ideas, words, and phrases that appear also elsewhere in the psalm. The speaker depicts himself and his community here as those in covenant with God.<sup>316</sup> His adversaries, on the other hand, do not keep God's commandments and even try to lead the community of the speaker astray.<sup>317</sup> The speaker envisions his adversaries facing destruction at the time of the judgment, while he and the members of his community stand before God alongside the divine beings.<sup>318</sup>

The speaker depicts himself here as a mediator of divine knowledge (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:28–29). The same expression (סוד פלאכה) used in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:15 for God's counsel designates in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:29 God's council. The structure of stanza ID seems to be governed by the threefold repetition of the

<sup>315</sup> Hughes translates "and you are mighty beyond reckoning"; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 101.

<sup>316</sup> In both sections, בריתך occurs three times. The allusions in the first section (to the renewal of the covenant in Deut 29:1–30:20, as well as to prophetic books, where the covenant is an important theme) further highlight the use of the covenant as a theme; cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 119–122.

<sup>317</sup> Brooke, "The Structure, 28." Stanzas 1B and 1C mostly depict the enemies; cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 107–14.

<sup>318</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:25–26, "they marshal themselves before you in the council of the holy ones" (סוד קדושים) is perhaps a reference to the divine council. On joint angelic-human community, cf. 2.1, above. Brooke discusses these passages in terms of eschatological judgment and bodily resurrection; Brooke, "The Structure," 28. For God's council in eschatological visions, cf. 4.4.2, below.

roots גבר and פלא.<sup>319</sup> As the root גבר is itself multivocal, it is not unambiguous how the entire line ובסוד פלאכה הגברתה עמדי in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:29 should be understood: “in your wonderful council you have shown yourself strong to me”<sup>320</sup> and “in the council of your wonder you have made mighty my position” are both possible.<sup>321</sup> In any case, this experience in God’s council is juxtaposed with God making known his mysteries (רזי פלאכה) to the speaker mentioned in the previous line, enabling the speaker to act as a mediator between God and his own community (called “the many”).<sup>322</sup> Because this psalm contains several allusions to Jeremiah 23, the role of the speaker can be interpreted also in terms of Jeremiah 23:16–18.<sup>323</sup> The psalm indirectly responds to the question God poses in Jeremiah 23:18: “For who has stood in the council of the LORD (בסוד יחיה) so as to see and hear his word?” In both Jeremiah 23 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6, the ability to stand in God’s council is the hallmark of true knowledge. The opponents of the speaker, on the other hand, are said either to lie or to withhold knowledge (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:12, 17).<sup>324</sup>

The process of the transmission of divine knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:23b–30a can be summed up in the following table:

Table 3. Transmission of Divine Knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:23b–30a and 20:14b–27a

| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 12:23b–30a | Divination      | 1QH <sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| God’s council               | Source          | God’s council               |
|                             |                 |                             |
| -                           | Divine mediator | Divine spirit               |
|                             |                 |                             |
| Wonderful mysteries         | Message         | Knowledge/counsel           |
|                             |                 |                             |
| Teacher                     | Human medium    | Wisdom teacher              |
|                             |                 |                             |
| “The many”                  | Recipient       | “Those who fear God” (?)    |

<sup>319</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 116.

<sup>320</sup> In addition to Newsom’s translation in Stegemann & Schuller, 1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>, 166, cf., e.g., Thomas, *The “Mysteries”*, 208–9.

<sup>321</sup> In addition to Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 101, cf. Wise et al. “1QH<sup>a</sup>,” 29.

<sup>322</sup> Thomas, *The “Mysteries”*, 208–9. The word “many” is used as a communal designation, e.g., in 1QS 6–8.

<sup>323</sup> Similarly, Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 115, 121.

<sup>324</sup> On the withholding of knowledge, cf. Brooke, “Structure,” 28.

As this table demonstrates, the process of transmitting divine knowledge is similar in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:23b–30a and 20:14b–27a. In both passages, God’s council is understood as a source of knowledge that the speaker can then mediate to other people. How the speakers gain access to divine knowledge is similarly described. The most noticeable difference between the two passages, however, is the absence of divine mediator in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6. As I have argued above, God’s spirit is depicted as a divine mediator in only three לְמַשְׁכִּיל psalms.<sup>325</sup>

A second difference is the speaker’s presentation of himself as the only legitimate intermediary of divine knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6. It is to the speaker to whom God has revealed himself.<sup>326</sup> In the first line of the psalm, the speaker states that God has enlightened his face, to be compared with Moses whose face shone after God had given him the Torah (cf. Exod 34:29). According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:11, God has spoken תּוֹרָה in the heart of the speaker. In stanza ID (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:28), the language of enlightening is used again to depict the speaker’s role as mediator. This time, God is said to have enlightened the face of the community members with the help of the speaker.<sup>327</sup> Furthermore, the depiction of the adversaries in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 highlights the legitimacy of the speaker as a mediator of divine knowledge. The adversaries are called, for example, “lying prophets” and “erring seers” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:17, 21). They deny the validity of the “vision of knowledge,” a true vision from the speaker’s point of view (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:18–19). The speaker styles himself as a persecuted leader who wishes to expose the dangers of the deceptive adversaries to the members of his community. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, on the other hand, the wisdom teacher does not emphasize his role as a teacher and mediator. As discussed in sub-section 1.3.3, Berg has concluded that none of the so-called Community Hymns depicts a human mediator.<sup>328</sup> In my view, however, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:14b–27a does depict a mediator of divine knowledge, and the process of the transmission of divine knowledge is similar in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:23b–30a and 20:14b–27a. The difference between these two passages is

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<sup>325</sup> Cf. 2.2.2, above.

<sup>326</sup> The verb “to shine, to appear” (יָפַע, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:24) denotes the manner in which God appears to humans—cf. Deut 33:2; Ps 50:2; 80:2; 94:1. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:7, 24 (and 21:15), Newsom understands the word לְאוֹרֵי[תִי] as a “(pseudo-)dual of אֹרֶה,” meaning “early light” or “dawn.” Cf. the note in Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 160–161. Cf. also 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:7, which alludes to the Book of Hosea, depicting God appearing “as sure as dawn” (בְּשַׁחַר נִבִּיחַ); Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 105. On “shining” and “light,” cf. Jassen, “Prophets and Prophecy,” 317–18.

<sup>327</sup> Jassen, “Prophets and Prophecy,” 317–18. According to Hughes, “all the living” mentioned in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:30 have access to the revelation through the speaker; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 116. Due to the covenantal theme of the psalm, as well as for the references to תּוֹרָה, I find this interpretation dubious.

<sup>328</sup> Cf. 1.3.3, above. Berg treats 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 briefly in Berg, “Religious Epistemologies,” 191–92.

largely how the self is constructed.<sup>329</sup> The first part of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 focuses on the relationship between the speaker and his adversaries, emphasizing the unique position of the speaker as mediator of divine mysteries. On the other hand, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 focuses on the relationship between the speaker and God. The wisdom teacher is nothing compared to God, who is the ultimate source of knowledge. Furthermore, the wisdom teacher epitomizes sectarian ideals, and his image thus differs little from the image of an average community member. His role as a teacher and a Mosaic intercessor nevertheless distinguishes him from the other members of the community.<sup>330</sup>

A third difference between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 and 20:7–22:42 concerns the content of the divine messages, an aspect difficult to parse in either passage. In the previous subsection, I argued that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, the divine knowledge may concern God’s plan, but no explicit statements could be found. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6, the divine knowledge is called “your wondrous mysteries” (רזי פלאכה, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:28–29), but what the mysteries actually are is likewise left unexplained. In fact, the psalm describes in greater detail what the adversaries do not know than what the speaker does know. This information may notwithstanding be used to induce what the mysteries the speaker has access to might be. Based on the entire psalm, not just stanza 1D, the mysteries are likely connected to the right interpretation of torah.<sup>331</sup> As mentioned above, the speaker presents himself as prophet like Moses, whose face shone and, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:11, to whose heart God has repeatedly revealed the torah (תורה). The description of the enemies as lying and deceitful interpreters as well as deceitful seers who want to exchange God’s law (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:8, 10–11) further implies that the divine mysteries concern the right interpretation of torah.<sup>332</sup>

To understand the logic of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6, it is important to understand first how תורה is used in the Thanksgiving Psalms and in the Qumran movement in general. First, תורה is never used to designate a written document in the Thanksgiving Psalms. The word “scroll” (ספר) does not appear at all in these psalms, nor is writing is ever associated with the word “teaching” (למוד).<sup>333</sup>

<sup>329</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 298–99.

<sup>330</sup> On 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, cf. 2.2.2, above.

<sup>331</sup> According to Hughes, the theme of the psalm is the interpretation of torah; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 106–7.

<sup>332</sup> The term חלקות (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:11) may also be understood as a reference to the interpretation of torah. The term has often been taken as a pun for Pharisaic הלכות. For further details, cf. Jassen, *Mediating*, 280–90.

<sup>333</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:41; 15:13, 17; [16:1].

Rather, divine teachings are transmitted orally.<sup>334</sup> In the sectarian Qumran compositions, written documents, writing, or self-identification as a scribe are not of importance as is the case, for example, in Jubilees, Sirach, and the Book of Daniel.<sup>335</sup> Second, in the Qumran movement, the revelation of the law was understood to be gradual, beginning from Moses and continuing through Israel's prophets up to the contemporary communities.<sup>336</sup> Thus, תורה could be understood properly only within the movement. The members of the Qumran movement believed that they knew not only the laws that were revealed to all of Israel but also those that were hidden from the nation. To understand God's commandments and keep their covenant with God, the members of the movement sought to learn hidden things and mysteries—for example, eschatological and anthropological matters. Such knowledge could not be gained merely by intellectual efforts but required divine revelation, something granted only to those who kept their covenant with God, the members of the Qumran movement.<sup>337</sup> Only those who are acquainted with the mysteries—for example, knowledge on how to observe feast properly as the adversaries are blamed for “acting like madmen on their feast days” (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:13)—could understand torah properly. In the Damascus Document (CD 3:12–16), “Sabbaths and feasts” are also mentioned among the hidden things that have been revealed.<sup>338</sup>

Compared to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 engages more with the Sinai traditions. The speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 interprets older Sinai traditions, claiming that his revelation commands a similar authority. The speaker associates himself with Moses and his own knowledge of torah with that of Moses.<sup>339</sup> Based on the richness of scriptural allusions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6, Berg suggests that the Teacher Hymns (situated in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10–17) exemplify a “philosophy of biblical interpretation,” one not far from that of *pesharim*. Berg further links prophetic epistemology (according to him, found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10–17) with biblical interpretation, claiming that no other such connection can be found in any other Thanksgiving Psalm.<sup>340</sup> However, no revealed mysteries are

<sup>334</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 307–8.

<sup>335</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 68–69.

<sup>336</sup> Jassen, “The Presentation,” 307–37. Similarly, Newsom, *The Self*, 70. Cf. esp. 1QS 5:8–9; 8:15–16; 9:12–14.

<sup>337</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 70–73.

<sup>338</sup> Sacha Stern is skeptical as to whether CD 3:12–16 refers to the calendar controversy between the Qumran movement and other Jews, as has been commonly interpreted, arguing that the passage may instead refer to how the festivals should be observed; Sacha Stern, “Qumran Calendars and Sectarianism,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J. J. Collins and T. H. Lim; Oxford: University Press, 2010), 244.

<sup>339</sup> On Mosaic discourse in rewritten compositions, cf. Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, SupJSJ 77 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 41–69.

<sup>340</sup> Berg, “Religious Epistemologies,” 237–38.

recounted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 and thus divine knowledge cannot be said to be formulated through scriptural interpretation. Rather, the allusions serve as poetic devices to characterize the speaker and his opponents.

On the other hand, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 does not use the word תורה at all.<sup>341</sup> However, it cannot be argued that torah and the covenant are insignificant elements in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, as the psalm alludes to Genesis and refers to the covenant several times<sup>342</sup> and further mentions God’s statutes (חק, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:9). A cluster of scriptural allusions can be found in the third section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:27b–21:31a), which recounts the nature of humanity, how God had revealed his knowledge, and the diverse paths of humanity. However, this section does not seem to preserve any explicit statements that these are to be understood as pieces of knowledge revealed by God.

Both psalms refer to visual or aural revelations. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:19, for instance, revelations are described as a “vision of knowledge” (חזון דעת), while in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:26, 31, the speaker depicts God opening his ear (גלה אוזן).<sup>343</sup> It is difficult to understand from these passing references what kinds of revelatory experiences are meant. However, at least 1QH<sup>a</sup> 22:31 may demonstrate that, instead of an aural experience, the speaker may be referring to an intellectual illumination, as he parallels the opening of ear with the opening of his mind to understanding.<sup>344</sup> As discussed in subsections 1.3.2 and 1.3.3, similar emphases on intellectual process as a form of revelation can be found also in other roughly contemporary compositions, such as Sirach and Instruction.

In sum, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, the speaker of the psalm depicts himself as a divinely inspired wisdom teacher, one whose knowledge originates from God. The comparison between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 and 12:6–13:6 above demonstrated that both psalms allude to the divine council, which is understood as a source of knowledge for both speakers. Two significant differences emerge regarding the process of the transmission of divine knowledge. First, the holy spirit is depicted as a divine mediator in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, while no divine mediator seems to appear at all in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–

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<sup>341</sup> The word תורה is used only in three Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:11; 13:13; 14:13).

<sup>342</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 21:10, 14; 22:15, 27.

<sup>343</sup> The adversaries of the speaker are, in similar terms, depicted as “visionaries of error” and “visionaries of deceit” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6). Jassen argues that the term “visionaries” does not refer to prophets but is used for depicting sectarian community and its opponents. On the other hand, Jassen argues that the speaker of the psalm acts as a mediator of divine knowledge, Jassen, *Mediating*, 76–82, 366–371, and 1.3.3, above.

<sup>344</sup> For a similar argument, cf. 4.2, below.

13:6. In the Thanksgiving Psalms, the divine spirit is depicted as a mediator only in the psalms attributed to a wisdom teacher. Second, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6, the divine message is related to the right interpretation of the torah, while no such torah discourse is to be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42. However, the scriptural allusions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 are not meant to demonstrate that this divine knowledge was gained through inspired interpretation; rather, the allusions are used as a poetic device to characterize the speaker and his adversaries as the righteous and the wicked. In the following chapter, I will explore the interpretation of earlier traditions as a means of transmitting divine knowledge, arguing that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, the supposedly divine knowledge is formulated by interpreting earlier traditions.<sup>345</sup>

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<sup>345</sup> Cf. 4.2.2, below.



### 3. Inspired Interpretation in the Thanksgiving Psalms

This chapter investigates the role of inspired interpretation in transmitting divine knowledge. I argue that, in two Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41), the supposedly divine knowledge is formulated by an implicit interpretation of earlier traditions. In both psalms, the supposedly divinely revealed knowledge is presented as a two ways teaching. In sections 3.2. and 3.3, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 are analyzed, the results of which analysis are discussed in the final section (3.4). Before undertaking this analysis, I first provide a short introduction to early Jewish tradition surrounding the two ways motif. Presenting the options in life as two divergent paths is a traditional motif in wisdom instruction utilized also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41. Although this motif appears already in compositions such as Proverbs and Deuteronomy, the findings of the Dead Sea Scrolls have brought to light many previously unknown compositions that make use of the two ways motif, such as Genesis Apogryphon, Aramaic Levi Document, Wiles of the Wicked Woman, Beatitudes, Instruction, and the Treatise of the Two Spirits. These sources are valuable for mapping out early Jewish tradition about the two ways motif, though, to my knowledge, no comprehensive study on the topic has yet been conducted.<sup>346</sup> Thus, a detailed comparison of the two Thanksgiving Psalms and earlier compositions that utilize the two ways motif is beyond the scope of this study. However, a short review of the topic demonstrates that the two ways teachings found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 include concepts and ideas that appear in earlier two ways passages. Of especial significance is the two ways passage of Instruction (4Q417 1 i) that would likely have been known to the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33.

#### 3.1 Two Ways Imagery in Early Jewish Literature

In various Jewish compositions originating roughly from the Second Temple period, right and wrong or good and bad options are depicted as two divergent paths.<sup>347</sup> Such observations about pairs of opposites in the world is a common mode of thought and language for human beings.<sup>348</sup> However,

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<sup>346</sup> However, cf. esp. George W. E. Nickelsburg, “Seeking the Origins of the Two-Ways Tradition in Jewish and Christian Ethical Texts,” in *A Multiform Heritage: Studies on Early Judaism and Christianity in Honor of Robert A. Kraft*, ed. B. G. Wright (Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1999), 95–108; Esther Eshel, “The Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apogryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions,” in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees*, ed. G. Boccaccini and G. Ibba (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2009), 82–98, discussed below.

<sup>347</sup> On the two ways motif in later Jewish and Christian compositions, cf. George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism and Early Christianity: Expanded Edition*, HTS 56 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 197–202.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. Ugo Bianchi’s reference to pair of opposites (e.g., male and female, right and left) cited below.

in some cases, the two ways imagery can be related to the more specific concept of dualism. Ugo Bianchi defines dualism as follows:

In our terminology dualism means the doctrine of the two principles. More precisely articulated, dualistic are all those religions, systems, conceptions of life which admit the dichotomy of the principles which, coeternal or not, cause the existence of that which does or seems to exist in the world.<sup>349</sup>

Not every duality and polarity is dualistic, but only those that involve the duality and polarity of causal principles. Thus not every pair of opposites (such as male and female, right and left, light and darkness, good and bad, spirit and matter, sacred and profane) can be labeled as dualistic, even when their opposition is emphasized. They are dualistic only when they are understood as principles or causes of the world and its constitutive elements.<sup>350</sup>

When the two ways passages found in early Jewish literature can be viewed in light of Bianchi's definition of dualism, only in some passages can the two ways be considered "principles or causes of the world and its constitutive elements"—for instance, the Treatise of Two Spirits, a lengthy teaching written for the members of the *yahad* (1QS 3:13–4:26).<sup>351</sup> In other passages, like in Proverbs 1–8 and Deuteronomy 30, two ways imagery appears in passing, used to express a more general notion of polarity in life. Even in the case of the Treatise of the Two Spirits, however, the aim is not necessarily to offer a dualistic teaching of the two ways. Rather, the two ways imagery facilitates responses to some important ideological questions. In the case of the Treatise of the Two Spirits, the two ways teaching might be construed as a literary device to help answer the question of why the righteous sin.<sup>352</sup>

Dualism has been considered a central ideology for the Qumran movement, even though only few dozen sectarian and non-sectarian compositions or parts of compositions use explicit dualistic terminology or thinking, as Jörg Frey has demonstrated. Furthermore, there is no one 'Qumran dualism'; rather, dualism is expressed in various ways in these compositions. Frey divides the sources into roughly two categories. First, there is the type evidenced in The Treatise of the Two Spirits, which includes complex understandings of dualism in cosmic, ethical, and psychological dimensions, and which originates from earlier Jewish sapiential traditions. Second,

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<sup>349</sup> Ugo Bianchi, "The Category of Dualism in the Historical Phenomenology of Religion," *Temenos* 16 (1980): 15.

<sup>350</sup> U. Bianchi, "Dualism," ER 4:506.

<sup>351</sup> On the many levels of dualism in the Treatise of the Two Spirits, see Jörg Frey, "Different Patterns of Dualistic Thought in the Qumran Library: Reflections on their Background and History," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995. Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten*, ed. M. Bernstein et al.; STDJ 23 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 289–95. The Treatise of the Two Spirits will be discussed in further detail below.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. the discussion below.

the dualism evidenced in the War Scroll is purely cosmic, and its background can be traced to priestly traditions.<sup>353</sup>

Although questions concerning the nature and origins of dualism in the Qumran corpus go beyond the scope of this study, Frey's observations offer some insights that are relevant also for the study of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41. First, the two ways teachings found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 may be dualistic. Indeed, Frey mentions 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7 as one possible of the passages from the Thanksgiving Psalms that might contain dualistic beliefs.<sup>354</sup> Frey's observation suggests that two ways passage in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 not only express duality but is itself dualistic. Furthermore, the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 would most likely have been acquainted with the two ways teaching of Instruction (4Q417 1 i),<sup>355</sup> which Frey lists as a dualistic passage.<sup>356</sup> Thus, the two ways passage found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 may also be dualistic. Second, Frey's overview of different types of dualism calls for a more detailed definition and analysis of the type of dualism. Frey lists ten types of dualism discussed already in previous research: metaphysical, cosmic, spatial, eschatological/temporal, ethical, soteriological, theological, physical, anthropological, and psychological. Of these ten, Frey finds only nine to be dualistic instead of just expressing duality, excluding theological dualism from the list. In the case of the Qumran corpus, Frey discusses mainly three types of dualism: cosmic, ethical, and psychological.<sup>357</sup> Although the two ways imagery and dualism should not be conflated, Frey's typology of dualism helps to formulate criteria for how to analyze the two ways imagery in early Jewish texts. What exactly is the binary division described, since the two ways differ from one composition to next? For example, in Proverbs, the two ways function as an ethical category, while in Instruction, the two ways are given a cosmic dimension.

The remainder of this section offers an overview of early Jewish two ways passages with special attention paid to features relevant for studying 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41. Whether or not two ways imagery expresses duality or dualism, the two ways passages share certain aspects like concepts and ideology, as later compositions often allude to older ones. For example, the wisdom compositions Wiles of the Wicked Woman and Beatitudes make use of Proverbs 1–9, and Treatise of the Two Spirits and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 both allude to the two ways passage found in

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<sup>353</sup> Frey, "Different Patterns," 275–80, 289–335.

<sup>354</sup> Frey, "Different Patterns," 277.

<sup>355</sup> Cf. 3.2.2, below.

<sup>356</sup> Frey, "Different Patterns," 277. Frey refers to Instruction by its earlier name 4QSapiential Work A.

<sup>357</sup> Frey, "Different Patterns," 280–85.

Instruction (4Q417 1 i). However, not every aspect of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, for example, can be explained through the influence of Instruction. I have identified five central themes in the two ways teachings found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41: covenant theology, creation, determinism, divinely revealed knowledge, and eschatology. A review of earlier two ways passages demonstrates that these themes have been explored already in earlier two ways passages.

The oldest Hebrew two ways teachings can be found in Proverbs 1–8 and Deuteronomy 30. As part of the ethical wisdom teaching of Proverbs, the audience is urged to choose the way of wisdom, which will lead to living the good life, and warned to avoid the way of the evil, which will lead to death.<sup>358</sup> In Proverbs, the good path is not yet identified with obeying God’s torah as in Deuteronomy 30:15–20, where those who walk in God’s ways are identified as those who follow God’s commandments, written in the Book of Torah. The audience of Deuteronomy is admonished to choose between two options: life and death, blessing and curse, and so on.<sup>359</sup> In many later compositions, the way of wisdom is equated with torah piety and covenant obedience, as in Psalm 1 and the Book of Tobit.<sup>360</sup> While Proverbs 1–8 do not mention the torah or the covenant, the teachings of Proverbs 1–8, torah piety, and covenant obedience do appear together in later compositions. The sapiential composition Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184) evolves around the figure of the evil woman found in Proverbs 1–9. Her ways include those of transgression and sin, as she tries to seduce men away from the righteous path in order that they not keep God’s commandments (cf. frag. 1). As Elisa Uusimäki has argued, Beatitudes (4Q525) resembles Proverbs 1–9 in form and function, as well as in content, but, unlike in Proverbs, wisdom is identified with torah, so the way of wisdom is likewise identified with the way of torah. Those who walk from the path of wisdom/torah are proclaimed happy, but those who enter the house of folly await a cursed life. Composed presumably in the second or first century BCE, 4Q525 has a more developed eschatology than does Proverbs. The house of wisdom and the house of folly may refer respectively to eternal life and eternal punishment. Especially the consequences of the foolish life seem to be eschatological in character.<sup>361</sup>

<sup>358</sup> Cf., e.g., Prov 1:15–19; 2:7–20; 3:17–24; 4:10–19, 26–27; 6:20–22; 7:25–27; 8:2, 20.

<sup>359</sup> Nickelsburg, “Seeking the Origins,” 96–97.

<sup>360</sup> In the Book of Tobit, the two opposite ways are called the “paths of fidelity and righteousness” (Tob 1:3) and the “paths of wickedness” (Tob 4:5–6). Tobit—who himself is on the right path—instructs his son not to transgress God’s commandments nor to walk the paths of wickedness; Eshel, “The Aramaic,” 94–95. On the Book of Tobit, see also below.

<sup>361</sup> Cf. especially cols. 2 and 9 of 4Q525; Elisa Uusimäki, *Turning Proverbs towards Torah: An Analysis of 4Q525*, STDJ 117 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 49–50, 57–58, 174–85, 203–4.

References to the two ways can be found in the different books of 1 Enoch, but they occur especially frequently in the Epistle of Enoch.<sup>362</sup> The dualistic and eschatological worldview of the Epistle of Enoch is apparent also in its two ways imagery: the whole history of mankind is depicted walking two paths, leading either to eternal reward or punishment. The implication of dualism here, that people travel either the right and wrong path, is strong. Divinely revealed knowledge also plays an important role: as recipients of divine revelation, the righteous know of the wrong path and steer away from it.<sup>363</sup> In another Aramaic composition, Genesis Apocryphon, the two paths likewise have an eschatological end point. The motif appears in Noah's first-person account of how he has been rooted in the truth since his birth. The right path is not characterized merely as a path of truth but as a "path of eternal truth." Furthermore, the path of falsehood is said to be one that leads to "everlasting darkness" (col. 6:1–5).<sup>364</sup> A third Aramaic composition, the Aramaic Levi Document, presents two other interesting developments in the two ways motif. First, the two ways are associated with two spirits. Levi prays that God grant him all the paths of truth, that he might not stray away from God's path. Here, Levi is asking for protection from the unrighteous spirit and any satan and thus pleads to God to show him the holy spirit.<sup>365</sup> Levi additionally believes that counsel, wisdom, knowledge, and strength will help him do what pleases God (cf. ALD 3). The idea of two spirits guiding man along the two ways is well known from a later two ways teaching, the Treatise of the Two Spirits (cf. below). The second novelty in the Aramaic Levi Document is that the two ways motif appears as part of a prayer—not, for example, as a part of a sapiential admonition. Although the book of Tobit does not include an actual prayer, it is noteworthy that prayer and the two ways are associated with one another also in this book: there, Tobit advises his son to praise God and beg him so that the ways of his son might lead to prosperity (Tob 4:19).<sup>366</sup>

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<sup>362</sup> For the Book of Watchers and the Animal Apocalypse, cf. 1 En 2:1; 5:4; 89:32, 44–45, 51; Nickelsburg, "Seeking the Origins," 99.

<sup>363</sup> Cf. 1 En 91:3d–4, 14, 18–19; 92:3; 94:1–4; 99:10; Nickelsburg, "Seeking the Origins," 99–103.

<sup>364</sup> Eshel argues that the portrayal of Noah in Jubilees is dependent on Genesis Apocryphon, even though the two ways motif is less explicit in Jubilees (4:6); Eshel, "The Aramaic," 96–97.

<sup>365</sup> Cf. the Epistle of Enoch (1 En 91:3d–4), where righteousness is shown to guide man down the path of goodness; Nickelsburg, "Seeking the Origins," 100.

<sup>366</sup> Eshel, "The Aramaic," 92–97.

Ben Sira also seems to make use of the two ways motif.<sup>367</sup> In Sirach 33:7–15, Ben Sira ponders over the binary divisions in life. Why are some days festivals, while other days are ordinary? Why are some people closer to God than others? According to Ben Sira, God is responsible for making them different. As for human beings, Ben Sira refers to their creation (Sir 33:10, 14) as evidence that binary division had been established from the very beginning.<sup>368</sup> God has made their ways different (ἡλλοίωσε τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῶν, Sir 33:11).<sup>369</sup> Ben Sira concludes that everything exists in pairs. Thus, because there is goodness, godliness, and life, there is also evilness, sin, and death.<sup>370</sup> It may be that Ben Sira is alluding here to Deuteronomy 30, as the juxtaposition of life and death, as well as that of blessing and curse, recalls Deuteronomy 30:15.

I agree with Frey, who argues that the idea found, for example, in Sirach 33—that binary division was founded by God’s act of creation—creates an ideological background for the two ways teachings found in Instruction (4Q417 1 i) and the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26),<sup>371</sup> the two of which seem to be dependent on one another.<sup>372</sup> The best-preserved version of the two ways teaching of Instruction can be found in manuscript 4Q417 (1 i).<sup>373</sup> In column 1, walking and path imagery (4Q417 1 i 7, 10, 12, 19), common topoi in a two ways teaching, is combined with deterministic and eschatological ideas. The two ways teaching is furthermore portrayed as divinely revealed knowledge, a mystery. However, this is described as a mystery that had already been

<sup>367</sup> Nickelsburg (“Seeking the Origins,” 107) mentions various passages from Ben Sira (Sir 2:6, 15; 6:26; 14:21–22; 15:11–12, 15–17; 21:10; 23:19; 32:21; 37:15; 49:9). Although he does not mention Sir 33, he does discuss Sir 15 in detail.

<sup>368</sup> Human beings are formed from dust and shaped from clay in the hands of a potter. For dust imagery, see Gen 2:7; 3:19; 18:27; Job 4:19; 10:9; 34:15; Ps 103:14; 104:29; 146:4; Qoh 3:20; 12:7; Tob 8:6; Wis 7:1; for the potter motif, cf. Isa 29:16; 45:9; 64:7; Jer 18:3–6; Wis 15:7; Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes*, AB 39 (New York: Doubleday, 1987), 400–1.

<sup>369</sup> Hebrew Manuscript E adds here another line that also refers to the divergent paths, but there is also some confusion in the text: [ וישם אותם דרי הא ] [ וישנ ] [ דרכיהם ]; cf. Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts And Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts*, SupVT 68 (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 106.

<sup>370</sup> Hebrew Manuscript E adds light and darkness to these dichotomies, based on Gen 1:2–3; Skehan & Di Lella, *The Wisdom*, 401.

<sup>371</sup> Frey, “Different Patterns,” 297–98.

<sup>372</sup> Cf. below. Instruction is considered a non-sectarian composition that was studied also by the members of the Qumran movement. The influence of Instruction can be detected in at least two sectarian compositions, the Community Rule and the Thanksgiving Psalms; Elgvin, “An Analysis,” 160–65; Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction*, STDJ 44 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 247. On the relationship between Instruction and the Thanksgiving Psalms, see 3.2.2, below; Goff, “Reading Wisdom”.

<sup>373</sup> Altogether, some seven or eight Instruction manuscripts were found in the Qumran caves (1Q26; 4Q415–418; 4Q418a; 4Q423). Tigchelaar labels the eighth manuscript 4Q418\*. The different manuscripts suggest that different versions were circulating, since, for example, the beginning of 4Q417 differs from that of 4Q418, and the two ways teaching appears later in 4Q418; Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 15–17, 158.

revealed earlier and that now can be acquired through continuous study.<sup>374</sup> This mystery refers to God's foreordained plan that governs the world, history, and fate of all human beings.<sup>375</sup> By meditating on this mystery, one will come to understand the binary division of the world, "truth and wisdom, iniquity and folly" (4Q417 1 i 8–15).<sup>376</sup> Indeed, God's plan is said to regulate the world from its creation until its end.<sup>377</sup> The eschatological implications of this becomes apparent in terminology like "all periods of eternity and eternal visitation" (4Q417 1 i 9–10) and "entire visitation" (4Q417 1 i 16). A dualistic division between people is also implied, as the "spiritual people" are said to have access to divine knowledge, which is denied from the "fleshy spirit" and "Sons of Seth." Indeed, the spiritual people are the ones said to know good from evil and to be aware of the judgment for the wicked (4Q417 1 i 13–18).<sup>378</sup> Strikingly, God's law does not seem to play a role in this two ways teaching.<sup>379</sup>

The best-preserved version of the Treatise of the Two Spirits can be found in 1QS (3:13–4:26).<sup>380</sup> Eibert Tigchelaar argues that there are two literary layers in the Treatise, group I (1QS 3:18–4:14) and group II (1QS 3:13–18; 4:15–26). Especially group II has parallels with Instruction and may even originate from the same circles.<sup>381</sup> Like Instruction, 1QS 3:13–18 and 4:15–26 introduce God's foreordained plan for his creation.<sup>382</sup> Unlike in Instruction, however, the two ways are said to be guided by two spirits that battle one another to rule over man. Newsom argues that the Treatise presents itself first and foremost as a teaching about anthropology. Various topics treated in it—such as determinism, eschatology, and angelology—serve the purpose of answering questions about the character and fate of human beings (cf. 1QS 3:13–14). Here, Newsom defers to Hermann Lichtenberger's argument that the Treatise serves as a teaching that explains why the

<sup>374</sup> Goff, *The Worldly*, 51–53.

<sup>375</sup> Cf., e.g., 1.3.2, below; Elgvin, "An Analysis," 80–81; Lange, *Weisheit and Prädestination*, 60; Goff, *The Worldly*, 54–61.

<sup>376</sup> The word "folly" is partly reconstructed; cf. וְאִלּוּל in l. 7.

<sup>377</sup> A short reference to creation can be found in 4Q417 1 i 8–9; Goff, *The Worldly*, 61–66.

<sup>378</sup> Goff, *The Worldly*, 83–115. The passage concerning the two kinds of people in ll. 13–18 is notably difficult to interpret. Cf., e.g., Elgvin, "An Analysis," 83–94.

<sup>379</sup> Torah is not mentioned in Instruction. This does not, however, mean that Instruction is ignorant of God's law, as the Pentateuch is used as a source for some of the teachings in Instruction. Nonetheless, God's mysteries are more central than his law for the acquisition of knowledge; Goff, *The Worldly*, 69–73.

<sup>380</sup> It is both impossible and impractical to recount the entirety of the manuscript evidence and the literary development of the Treatise of the Two Spirits in this brief introduction. See instead, e.g., Charlotte Hempel, "The Treatise of the Two Spirits and the Literary History of the Rule of the Community," in *Dualism in Qumran*, ed. G. G. Xeravits; LSTS 76 (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 102–20.

<sup>381</sup> Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 206–7.

<sup>382</sup> The Treatise of the Two Spirits draws from the first creation account, while the imagery of Sir 33 recalls the second creation account.





14 [ ] ות ולהבין אנוש בְּ [ ] בשר וסוד רוחי [ ]  
[ ] התהלכו

14. [...]°t and that humankind may understand concerning [...]flesh and the council of the spirits of [...]  
]° they walk.

Stanza 1A (5:15–24a)

Stanza 1A (5:15–24a)

15 [ ] ברוך אתה אדוני  
[ ]° [ ]° רוח בשר בְּבֹ  
[ ] בְּכֹחַ גבורתך  
16 [ ] (והמון ח) סֹדֶךְ עם רוב טובך  
[ ] (וכס) חֲמַתְךָ וקנאת משפָּ טִיד [ ] לאין חֶקֶר  
כול 17 [ ] [ ]° ת כול בינה וְמָ [ ] ורזי  
מחשבת וראשִׁית [ ] ה [ ] כִּינֹתָה  
18 [ ] [ ]° קודש מקדם עוֹ [ ] לם  
[ ] (ולעולמי עד אתה הוֹאֵלָתָה) [ ] קְדוּשִׁים  
19 [ ] [ ] וברזי פלאך הוֹדַעְ [ ] תני בע [ ] בֹּר כבודך  
ובעומק [ ]° [ ] מעין [ ] בִּינַתְךָ לא  
20 [ ] [ ] אתה גלית דרכי אֲמַת וְמַעֲשֵׂי רַע  
[ ] חוכמה ואולֹת [ ]  
צִדִּיק 21 [ ] [ ] מעשיהם  
אמת [ ] [ ]° [ ] ה ואולֹת  
כול התהלכו [ ] 22 [ ] [ ]  
[ ] (וחסדי עולם לְכֹל קֶצֶץ) הֵם לשלום ושחת  
כֹּל [ ]° [ ] 23 [ ] (מש) פְּטִיהֶם כבוד עולם  
[ ] (וחמדה ושמחת עד למעשה) [ ]° [ ] שים  
[ ]° [ ] 24 [ ] [ ] vacat

15. [...] Blessed are] you, O Lord,  
°° [...]°r a spirit of flesh bb°  
[...] through your mighty strength  
16. [and the abundance of ]your [kind]ness  
together with your great goodness  
[and the cup of ]your wrath and [your] zealous  
judgeme[nts... unsea]rchable.  
All 17. [...]°t all insight and in[struction] and the  
mysteries of the plan and the beginning [...] you  
[es]tablished  
18. [...]°° holiness from a[ges] of old  
[and] the everlasting ages you yourself resolved  
[...] holy ones  
19. [...] and in your wonderful mysteries [you]  
have instructed [me for the s]ake of your glory,  
and in the depth °° [...] source of] your insight not  
20. [...]you yourself have revealed the ways of  
truth and the works of evil,  
wisdom and folly [...] righteousness 21. [...] their works,  
truth [...]°[...h] and folly.  
All have walke[d ...] 22. [...]m  
and eternal mercies for their time[s] for peace or  
(for) destruction.  
All °[... ] 23. their judgments, eternal glory,  
loveliness and everlasting joy for the work[...] sym  
/°[... ] 24. [...]’ vacat

Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:24b–41

Stanza 2A (5:24b–30a)

Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:24b–41

Stanza 2A (5:24b–30a)

ואלה אשר הכִּינֹתָהּ מקדם [ ] עוֹלָם  
לשפות במ 25 אֵת כול מעשיך  
בטרם בראתם עם צבא רוחיך  
ועדת [ ] אלים ע [ ] רִקִּיעַ קודשך  
וְכֹל 26 צבאותיו

And these are what [you] es[tablished from] ages  
[of old]  
to judge through them 25. all your creatures,  
before you created them together with the host  
of your spirits  
and the congregation of the heavenly beings  
together with your holy firmament and all 26. its  
hosts,

עם הארץ וכול צאצאיה  
 בימים ובתהומות  
 [כ] כֹּל מחשבותם לכול קצי עולם 27 ופקודת עד  
 כי אתה הכינותמה מקדם עולם  
 ומעשה [ ] ־־־ במ  
 בעבור 28 יספרו כבודך בכול ממשלתך  
 כי הראיתם את אשר לא י [ ]  
 אשר קדם  
 ולברוא 29 חדשות  
 להפר קימי קדם  
 ול[הק]ים נהיות עולם  
 כי אתה ה[כינות]מ  
 ואתה תהיה 30 לעולמי עד  
 וברזי שכלה פלג[תה] כול אלה  
 להודיע כבודך

together with the earth and all that springs from  
 it,  
 in the seas and in the deeps,  
 [according to] all the plans for them for all the  
 eternal epochs 27. and everlasting visitation.  
 For you yourself established them from ages of  
 old  
 and the work [...] among them  
 in order that 28. they might make known your  
 glory in all your dominion,  
 for you showed them what not y[...]  
 which was of old,  
 and creating 29. new things,  
 destroying what was established of old,  
 and [raising] up what will be forever,  
 for you yourself have [established] them,  
 and you yourself exist 30. for everlasting ages.  
 In the mysteries of your understanding [you]  
 apportioned all these  
 in order to make known you glory.

#### Stanza 2B (5:30b–35a)

[כי מה ה]יא רוח בשר להבין 31 בכול אלה  
 ולהשכיל בס[ ] גדול  
 ומה ילוד אשה בכול [ג]י[ו]ל[י] הנוראים  
 והוא 32 מבנה עפר ומגבל מים  
 א[שמה וחט]אה סודו  
 ערות קלון ומ[קור הנ]דה  
 ורוח נעוה משלה 33 בו  
 ואם ירשע  
 יהיה[ לאות עד ]עולם  
 ומופת דורות רחוק[י]ם לבשר  
 רק בטובך 34 יצדק איש  
 וברוב רח[מיד]  
 בהדרך תפארנו  
 ותמשילנ[ו ב]רוב עדנים  
 עם שלום 35 עולם ואורך ימים  
 כי ]  
 ו[דברך לא ישוב אחור

#### Stanza 2B (5:30b–35a)

[But how i]s spirit of flesh to understand 31. all  
 these things  
 and to discern bs [...] great [...]?  
 What is one born of woman amid all your [gre]at  
 fearful acts?  
 He 32. is a thing constructed of dust and kneaded  
 with water.  
 Sin[ful gui]It is his foundation,  
 obscene shame, and a so[urce of im]purity.  
 And a perverted spirit rules 33. him.  
 If he acts wickedly,  
 he will become[ a sign for]ever  
 and portent for dis[ta]nt generations of flesh.  
 Only through your goodness 34. can a person be  
 righteous,  
 and by [your] abundant compass[sion ...].  
 By your splendor you glorify him,  
 and you give [him] dominion [with] abundant  
 delights  
 together with eternal 35. peace and long life.  
 For [...]  
 and your word will not turn back.

Stanza 2C (5:35b–41?)

ואני עבדך ידעתי 36 ברוח אשר נתתה בי [ ]  
 וצדק כול מעשיך  
 ודברך לא ישוב אחור  
 וכל 37 קצים מועד[ים] ל[ ] ס[דורים]  
 לחפציהם  
 ואדעה [כי] ל[ ]  
 38 ורשע ש[ ] ק[ ]  
 להתבונן [ ]  
 39 [ ] רוחיך ול[ ]  
 40 [ ] להל[ ]  
 41 [ ]

Stanza 2C (5:35b–41?)

And I, your servant, know 36. by means of the  
 spirit that you have placed in me [...]  
 and all your deeds are righteousness.  
 And your word will not turn back.  
 And all 37. your ages are appoint[ed] / [...]  
 ar]anged with respect to their affairs.  
 I know [that...] / [...]  
 38. and wicked š[ ] q[ ]  
 to understand [...]  
 39. [...] your spirits and / [...]  
 40. [...] h/ [...]  
 41. [...]

Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:1?–18

[ ] 6:1–11  
 12 [ ] תועדותם  
 בעמד [ ]  
 והי[ ]  
 13 וא[תה גלית] א[זוננו] רזי פלא  
 אנשי אמת ובחירי צ[דק]  
 דורש[ ] 14 שכל ומבקשי בינה ב[ ]  
 או[הבי רחמים ועני רוח]  
 מזוקקי 15 עוני וברורי מצרף [ ]  
 מ[תאפקים עד לעת משפטיכה]  
 16 וצופים לישועתך  
 [ ]  
 ואתה  
 וחזקתה חוקיך בידם  
 לעשות 17 משפט תבל  
 ולנחול בכול צ[דקותיך]  
 ולהיות בס[וד] קודש לדורות עולם  
 וכול 18 ש[ ] מעשיהם עם תענוג[ ]  
 אנשי חזונכה vacat

Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:1?–18

6:1.–11. [...]  
 12. [...] their testimonies [...] with your people  
 and was [...]°°°  
 13. and yo[u yourself revealed ] in our hearing  
 [wonderful mysteries ...]  
 persons of truth and the elect of ri[ghteousness,  
 those who see]k 14. insight and those who search  
 for understanding b[ ]°° [...]  
 those who l[ove compassion and the humble in  
 spirit,  
 and those purified 15. by affliction, and those  
 refined in the crucible °°° [...]  
 who per]severe still to time of your judgments,  
 16. and watch for your salvation.  
 And you [...]  
 and you have strengthened your statutes in their  
 hand  
 that they may do 17. justice (in) the word  
 and obtain inheritance in all [your] ri[ghteous  
 deeds  
 and to exist in a cou]ncil of holiness for eternal  
 generations.  
 And all 18. °° šy their deeds together with  
 delig[ht ...]°  
 persons who have received your vision.  
 vacat

**Fourth Section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–27**  
Stanza 4A (6:19–23a)

19 [ ] *vacat* [ ] ברוך אתה [אֲדוֹנִי  
הנותן בלב עבדך בִּינָה  
20 להשכיל בכול אלה  
ולהת[בונן ב ]  
ולתאפק על עלילות רשע  
ולברך 21 בְּצֶדֶק כֹּל בּוֹחֵרֵי רִצּוֹנְךָ  
[ לבחור בכול אֲשֶׁר אהבתה  
ולתעב אֵת כֹּל אֲשֶׁר 22 [שנאתה]  
ותשכל עֲבֹדְךָ [ ב גור] לֹות אנוש  
כי לפי רוחות תְּפִילָם בין 23 טוב לרשע  
[ו]תכן [ ]<sup>390</sup>תם פעולתם

**Fourth Section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–27**  
Stanza 4A (6:19–23a)

[...] 19. [...] *vacat* [... Blessed are you,] O Lord,  
who places understanding in the heart of your  
servant  
20. so that he may have insight into all these  
things,  
and under[stand ...]<sup>390</sup>  
and persevere against evil deeds,  
and bless 21. with righteousness all who choose  
what pleases you,  
[to chose all t]hat you love,  
and abhor all that 22. [you hate].  
And you have caused your servant to have insight  
[... lo]ts of humankind.  
For according to (their) spirits you cast (the lot)  
for them between 23. good and evil,  
and have determined [...]°°*tm* their recompense.

Stanza 4B (6:23b–27)

ואני ידעתי מבינתך  
24 כי ברצונכה בא[י] שֶׁ הִרְבָּ [יתה נחלתו] בְּרוּחַ  
קודשך  
וכן תגישנו לבינתך  
ולפי 25 קִוְּרָבוֹ קִנְאוֹתוֹ עַל כֹּל פּוֹעֲלֵי רִשָּׁע וְאֲנָשִׁי  
רמיה  
כי כול קרוביך לא יִמְרוּ פִּיךָ  
26 וְכֹל יוֹדְעֶיךָ לֹא יִשְׁנוּ דְּבָרֶיךָ  
כי אתה צדיק  
ואמת כול בחיריך  
וכֹּל עוֹלָה 27 וְרִשָּׁע תִּשְׁמִיד לְעַד  
*vacat* ונגלתה צדקתך לעיני כול מעֲשִׂיךָ

Stanza 4B (6:23b–27)

And as for me, I know from the understanding  
that comes from you  
24. that through your goodwill toward a p[er]son  
you mul[tiply his portion] in your holy spirit.  
Thus you draw him<sup>390</sup> closer to your  
understanding.  
And according to 25. his closeness, so is zeal  
against all evildoers and people of deceit.  
For all who are near to you do not rebel against  
your command,  
26. and all who know you do not pervert your  
words.  
For you are righteous  
and all your chosen ones are trustworthy.  
All injustice 27. and wickedness you will destroy  
forever,  
and your righteousness will be revealed in the  
sight of all your creatures. *vacat*

<sup>390</sup> Hasselbalch follows Sukenik in תגישני ("you bring me") instead of תגישנו. It is also debatable whether one should read קִוְּרָבוֹ קִנְאוֹתוֹ עַל כֹּל פּוֹעֲלֵי רִשָּׁע וְאֲנָשִׁי or ולפי קִוְּרָבִי קִנְאוֹתִי in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:24–25; Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 80.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 28 ואני ידעתי ברוב טובך                  | 28. And as for me,   |
| ובשבועה הקימותי על נפשי לבלתי חטוא לך    | I have knowledge by means of your abundant goodness  |
| 29 [ו]לבלתי עשות מכול הרע בעיניך         | and by the oath I pledged upon my life not to sin against you  |
| וכן הוגשתי ביחד כול אנשי סודי            | 29. [and] not to do anything evil in your sight.   |
| לפי 30 שכל אגישנו                        | And thus I was brought into association with all the men of my counsel.  |
| וכרוב נחלתו אהבנו                        | According to 30. his insight I will associate with him,  |
| ולא אשא פני רע                           | and according to the amount of his inheritance I will love him.  |
| וש[וח]ד בר[ש]ע לא אכיר                   | But I will not regard evil,  |
| 31 [ו]ל[א] אמיר בהון אמתך                | and b[ribe] (given) in wi[cked]ness I will not acknowledge.  |
| ובשוחד כול משפטיך                        | 31. [And] I will no[t] exchange your truth for wealth  |
| כי אם לפי 30 [אי]ש 32 [אה]בנו            | nor any of your judgments for a bribe.   |
| וכרחקך אותו אתעבנו                       | But according as ... a per]son,  |
| ולא אביא בסוד א[מתך כול] שבי 33 [מב]ריתך | 32. [I will l]ove him,   |
| [ ] vacat                                | and according as you place him far off,  |
|  | thus I will abhor him. vac   |
|  | And I will not bring into the council of [your] tr[uth any ] who turn away 33. [from] your [co]venant. vacat [...] |

### 3.2.1 Structure and Content

Columns 5 and 6 are the first and second columns of the second sheet of 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Both columns, the upper parts (ll. 1–11) of which are missing, are reconstructed from several fragments.<sup>391</sup> The beginning of the psalm is badly damaged but partly reconstructed by Stegemann and Schuller, [מזמור למ] שכל להחנפל לפנך אל. According to Stegemann and Schuller, the psalm continues until the long blank space in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:33, since the same vocabulary, topics, and length of strophes are used until 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:33. They further argue against the possibility that a new psalm would have begun at 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19, where there is an indentation, together with the partially reconstructed phrase [ ] ברוך אתה אדוני. They do nonetheless acknowledge that having an indentation occur at the beginning of a subsection is an anomaly in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, but because 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:20 includes also the words

<sup>391</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 77, 88–89.

בְּכוֹלֵי אֱלֹהִים—according to Stegemann and Schuller, this always refer to what has been said in the previous section—it is impossible for a new psalm to begin at 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19.<sup>392</sup> In its current form, the psalm appears to be a compilation text, wherein 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 constitutes a section of its own.<sup>393</sup>

The psalm includes three blank spaces (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:24; 6:18–19, 27) that divide the psalm into four sections. As 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:12–18 differs in style and content from the end of column 5, which indicates that there might have been a section division somewhere at the end of column 5 or in the beginning of column 6, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:1–18 is introduced here as a section of its own (viz., as the third section). The first, second, and fourth sections, on the other hand, are divided into stanzas based on the use short blank spaces, blessings formulae, use of pronouns, or the particle כִּי.<sup>394</sup> I thereby suggest that the overall structure of the psalm is as follows:

#### First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–24a

|                                     |                       |   |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| Opening strophe (5:12–14)           | Function of the psalm | Begins with מְזִמּוֹר לַמֶּלֶךְ [שְׁכִינָה] |
| Stanza 1A (5:15–24a) <sup>395</sup> | Two ways              | Begins with בְּרוּךְ [אתה אֱדוּנִי]         |
|                                     |                       | Ends with <i>vacat</i>                      |

#### Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:24b–41

|                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Stanza 2A (5:24b–30a) | Creation  | Begins with וְאֵלֹהִים                              |
| Stanza 2B (5:30b–35a) | <i>Niedrigkeitsdoxologie</i>                        | Begins with כִּי מֶה [                              |
| Stanza 2C (5:35b–41?) | Recipient of divine knowledge<br>+ fragmentary text | Ends with short <i>vacat</i><br>Begins with וְאֵנִי |

#### Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:1?–18

|          |                        |
|----------|------------------------|
| An elect | Ends with <i>vacat</i> |
|----------|------------------------|

#### Fourth section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–27

|                      |                   |                                     |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Stanza 4A (6:19–23a) | Lots of humankind | Begins with בְּרוּךְ [אתה אֱדוּנִי] |
| Stanza 4B (6:23b–27) | Lots of humankind | Begins with וְאֵנִי                 |
|                      |                   | Ends with <i>vacat</i>              |

<sup>392</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 78, 89–90. Stegemann discusses the nature of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 in detail in Stegemann, “The Number,” 213–15. Kittel treats 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 as an independent psalm but wonders the peculiar form and content of the psalm; Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 148.

<sup>393</sup> Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 77–79. Kittel considers 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 as an independent psalm that can be divided into three stanzas which correspond to stanzas 4A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–23a) and 4B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:23b–27), as well as the fifth section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:28–33). Cf. Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 145–52.

<sup>394</sup> There are altogether five short blank spaces in this psalm but it is argued that only the one in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:35 indicates stanza division. Two other short blank spaces are situated before the final lines of the stanzas (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:26; 32). Cf. also the short blank spaces in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:33 and 6:30.

<sup>395</sup> For a possible strophe division in the first stanza, cf. Newsom, *The Self*, 217–19.

The psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33) begins with an introductory strophe that describes its function (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–14). The fragmentary lines refer to both liturgical and didactic purposes for the psalm:<sup>396</sup> the psalm is to be recited in order for the speaker “to prostrate himself (להתנפל) befo[re God],” “to make the simple understand” (ולִהבִין פְּתִיאִים), and “to make humankind understand” (ולִהבִין אָנוּשׁ).<sup>397</sup> The exhortation to make the simple understand is found already in Proverbs (1:4) but with a different verb.<sup>398</sup> A closer parallel can be found in Instruction, which reads וְלִהבִין כֹּל (4Q418 221 2). Puech draws attention to the similarities between the introductory strophe of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and the heading of the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13), both of which contain לִהבִין and לְמַשְׁכִּיל.<sup>399</sup> However, the parallel is closer between 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4Q418 as they also preserve the word פְּתִיאִים. In the Thanksgiving Psalm, both the “simple” (פְּתִיאִים) (1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:11) and “humankind” (אָנוּשׁ) (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13) may be used as communal designations.<sup>400</sup>

The use of verb נפל in *hithpael* may reflect a conscious choice to present the speaker as a Moses-like intercessor, as already discussed in subsection 2.2.2, above. However, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–14 does not explicate how teaching and prostration are related, though Judith Newman suggests that prostration may be a propaedeutic act that precedes teaching. That is, prostration is performed only by the wisdom teacher, but the assembly would have taken part in the ritual by observing this act and engaging with the movements.<sup>401</sup>

In the opening strophe (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–14), the content of the teaching is obscure due to the fragmentary state of the manuscript, but especially the reference to walking (התהלכו) indicates

<sup>396</sup> Falk, *Daily*, 102–3. I discuss the function of the psalm in 3.4, below.

<sup>397</sup> Newsom translates לִהבִין in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:13, 14 as “to understand,” but the verb is used in *hiphil* and thus carries a causative meaning—i.e., “to make understand.” The verb likely refers to the speaker of the psalm.

<sup>398</sup> Prov 1:4: לְתֵת לַפְתִּיאִים עֲרֻמָּה לְזַעַר דַּעַת וּמִזְמָה.

<sup>399</sup> Émile Puech, “Un hymne essénien en partie retrouve et les béatitudes: 1QH V12–VI18 (= col. XIII–XIV7) et 4QBéat,” *RevQ* 49 (1988): 81. On the relationship between the Treatise and 1QH<sup>a</sup>, cf. 3.2.2, below.

<sup>400</sup> In Instruction (4Q418 221), the audience of the teaching is likewise called the “simple.” Goff argues that, in 4Q417 1 i, אָנוּשׁ does not refer to an elect group, though it is stated that אָנוּשׁ has been granted divine knowledge; Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 279–81. On 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13, cf. 4.4, below.

<sup>401</sup> Newman, “Embodied,” 257–59, 265–66.

that the teaching may concern the two ways.<sup>402</sup> This is at least the case in stanza 1A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:15–24a), where the speaker recounts how God has instructed him in his wonderful mysteries (רזי פלא, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:19), a term used also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 (cf. 2.2.3, above), and has revealed to him “the ways of truth and the works of evil, wisdom and folly” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:20). The dualistic language and reference to walking (התהלכ[ו], 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:21), as well as what awaits each traveler (“destruction,” “judgment,” “peace,” “eternal glory,” “loveliness,” and “everlasting joy”) suggest a teaching of the two ways.

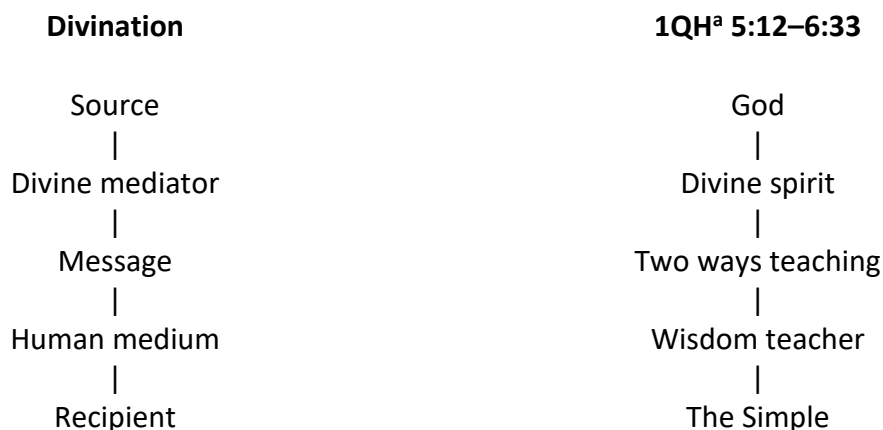
In stanza 2A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:24b–30a), the speaker ties the two ways together with the creation. The demonstrative pronoun אלה in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:24 refers to the dualistic principle, the two ways, presented at the end of the preceding stanza.<sup>403</sup> God has established the two ways before the creation to judge through them all his creatures. The speaker thus recounts briefly how God had founded the heaven and the heavenly beings and the earth, the seas, and the depths, all according to their plan for all of eternity. Stanza 2B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 30b–35a) then gives the so-called *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*, where the speaker ponders the lowly state of a human being compared to God’s glory. In stanza 2C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:35b–41), the speaker reflects upon his knowledge, having acquired it through divine inspiration, God having placed a spirit in him. As much as can be analyzed based on the fragmentary end of the column, the object of knowledge may be related to the two ways, as the final lines of column 5 refer to deeds (l. 36), ages (l. 37), something wicked (l. 38), and spirits (l. 39). Based on the whole of column 5, the transmission process is similar to that in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42. God has thus revealed his mysteries—which concern God’s foreordained plan for his created, presented in the form of a two ways teaching—to a wisdom teacher with the help of God’s spirit, and the recipients of the mysteries are called The Simple.

<sup>402</sup> A fuller reconstruction of the opening rubric can be found in Puech, “Un Hymne,” 63, 69. Cf. the English translation in Falk, *Daily*, 102–3; Cf. also Qimron, *Megilot*, 64.

<sup>403</sup> Similarly, Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 86. Earlier, Newsom had suggested that the demonstrative pronoun might have referred to the two spirits, though she admits that the preceding section does not preserve any reference to such spirits; Newsom, *The Self*, 217–18.



Table 4. Transmission of Divine Knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33



The third section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:1–18) is difficult to interpret due to the decay in the upper part of column 6.<sup>404</sup> As over ten lines are missing from the beginning of the column 6, it is not obvious how 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:12–18 relates to column 5 or even to the following lines. Interpretation is further complicated by one instance of the first-person plural suffix used in the middle of second-person plural references (cf. אֲנִינוּ in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:13). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:12–18, the qualities of an elect (בְּחִירִי) (cf. צַדִּיק, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:13) are described in positive terms, as morally upright and wise; members of the elect will be tested by God, but they will persevere in the time of judgment.<sup>405</sup> The members of the elect are furthermore depicted as recipients of divine revelation and designated as “people of your vision” (אֲנִשֵּׁי חֲזוֹנֶכָּה). Similar designations refer sometimes to the classical prophets in other sectarian compositions.<sup>406</sup> The elect seems to carry also another function that is traditionally assigned to the classical prophets: whereas “watching” (צִפָּה) is a task for an individual prophet within the Latter Prophets, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:16, the elect are said to include those who watch for God’s salvation (צוֹפִים לִישׁוּעָתְךָ).<sup>407</sup> If 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:13 has been reconstructed correctly, God is described as having opened the ears of the speakers, who use the first person plural (אֲנִינוּ לְרִצִּי פִּלְא). This phrase

<sup>404</sup> Puech (“Un Hymne essénien,” 66) reconstructs macarisms to the beginning of the column but the reconstruction seems unlikely; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 90.

<sup>405</sup> The verb “to persevere” (אָפַק in *hithpael*) is rare in the Qumran corpus; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 91.

<sup>406</sup> Cf. 1QM 11:7–8 and CD 2:12–13; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 92.

<sup>407</sup> For the use of the verb צִפָּה, cf. Isa 21:6, 56:10; Jer 6:17; Ezek 3:17, 33:2, 6, 7; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 91.

seems to express the belief that the speakers are recipients of divine revelation.<sup>408</sup> As for “we” and “they” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:12–18 and how these relate to the first-person singular speaker, the wisdom teacher, these are issues I will return to below.

In the fourth and fifth sections (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33), the speaker refers to himself again in the first person singular. The lexical similarities between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 and 1QS suggest that the speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 is a wisdom teacher (cf. Table 5 below). Furthermore, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 evidences some of the same ideas and values as 1QS 9:12–21a<sup>409</sup>—a passage that bears the heading למשכיל, just as 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, and that describes the process of admission into the *yahad*, the wisdom teacher being portrayed here as a leader who examines and teaches the prospective members of the community. The speaker will introduce a new person into his community only if that person’s understanding is found worthy: he must love the righteous and abhor the wicked.<sup>410</sup> Compared to the other Thanksgiving Psalms, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 introduces new aspects to the way wisdom teacher presents himself: the hierarchy of knowledge is explicit—i.e., the speaker is closer to God, and his knowledge legitimizes his leadership status among his peers.<sup>411</sup>

As in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–41, the wisdom teacher describes how he has gained access to divine knowledge. He blesses God for having given him insight “into all these things.”<sup>412</sup> While there is then a *lacuna* in the middle of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:22, it seems that God has given to the wisdom teacher insight concerning the “lots of humankind” (גור[ל]ות אנוש). In the fifth and final section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:28–33), the idea of two lots is applied to communal life. The speaker presents himself as God’s agent and his community as those who “promise to return to the law of Moses.”<sup>413</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:28–29a, the speaker then refers to an oath he has pledged not to sin against God.<sup>414</sup> Trine Bjørnung Hasselbalch argues that this “oath is referred to, not as something fulfilled here and now in the moment of speech, but as the basis of what the speaker intends to do in the future.”<sup>415</sup> Hasselbalch

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<sup>408</sup> For רזי פלא, cf. 2.2.3, above. For גילה און, cf. 2.2.4, above and 4.2, below.

<sup>409</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 277–78.

<sup>410</sup> Newsom, “The Sage,” 375–76.

<sup>411</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 285–86.

<sup>412</sup> The references to “your servant” in stanza 4A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–23a) should be understood self-referential.

<sup>413</sup> Emphasized by the use of נגש and שבועה; Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 95–97.

<sup>414</sup> Newsom questions how this oath could possibly relate to knowledge; Newsom, *The Self*, 284. One solution is offered by Hasselbalch, who divides 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:28 into two separate sentences: “As for me, I have knowledge thanks to your plentiful goodness. And by an oath I have enjoined my soul from sinning against you and from doing anything that, in your eyes, is evil”; Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 80.

<sup>415</sup> Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 88.

bases her argument on theories about modality in Hebrew as well as a comparison with prayers in the New Testament. Consequently, she translates the imperfects from 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:30 onwards as expressing obligations or wishes.<sup>416</sup> The speaker wishes to act like God: neither the speaker nor God acknowledge bribery (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:31; 7:38), and just as God has drawn the speaker near, so the speaker wishes to draw people near to the community (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:29, 30; 1QS 9:14–16).<sup>417</sup> The speaker identifies also his council (סודי, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:29) with God's council (סוד א[מתך], 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:32),<sup>418</sup> and he ties the status of the member to the amount of “insight” (שכל) and “inheritance” (נחלה) that member possesses and how much that member pleases God (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:29–33). Furthermore, the speaker wishes not to bring into God's council those who turn away from God's covenant.<sup>419</sup>

Some scholars have suggested that, from the end of line 29 onwards, the psalm cites the entrance liturgy of the *yahad*, as there are many lexical similarities between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6 and 1QS 5 (cf. Table 5 below).<sup>420</sup> However, I agree with Hasselbalch in arguing that, despite similar terminology, the two passages may have had a different *Sitz im Leben*. That is, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 may have functioned as a contemplation of communal life, for example, instead of an oath to be recited in entrance liturgy.<sup>421</sup> Carol Newsom argues that this passage is a defense speech whereby the wisdom teacher defends his leadership status before his community.<sup>422</sup> Hasselbalch, on the other hand, argues that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 is not addressed to the ordinary community member but to be both “spoken by and directed to people who saw themselves as a religious elite dealing with issues of leadership and responsibility.” According to Hasselbalch, the passage would have been “used repeatedly as an edificatory mantra.”<sup>423</sup> Hasselbalch's theory that the elite members were the implicit addressees in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 is interesting also in light of the previous section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:12–18), where the elect are

<sup>416</sup> Hasselbalch translates אנשינו as “let me draw him near,” אהבנו as “let me love him,” לא אשא as “let me not turn,” לא אכיר as “let me not acknowledge,” לא אמיר [ל] as “let me not exchange,” אתעבנו as “let me abhor him,” and לא אביא as “let me not bring”; Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 80–81, 86–104.

<sup>417</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 283–84. It is not easy to determine whether יחד in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:29 is a proper name for the community or if it should be translated “to bring into association with”; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 96.

<sup>418</sup> For different meanings of סוד, cf. 2.1, above.

<sup>419</sup> The preposition מן is awkward after שבי. Stegemann and Schuller suggest another reconstruction: אשר [שבו] מ[ב] ריתך, “the people who have turned from your covenant, I will not bring in the council of your truth”; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 94.

<sup>420</sup> This suggestion was first posited by Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 224, 344–45. Cf. Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 93.

<sup>421</sup> Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 92.

<sup>422</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 277–86.

<sup>423</sup> Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 105, 112.

portrayed as recipients of divine knowledge. In line with Hasselbalch's suggestion, then, the elect should indeed be identified with a group of leader figures rather than average community members.

Both the two ways (discussed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–41) and the lots (discussed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33) are deterministic binary divisions represented as divinely revealed knowledge. Compared to the two ways teaching, the teaching concerning the lots introduces new aspects to the psalm.

First, while the two ways teaching discusses the entirety of the creation, that about the lots focuses on the fate of human beings. Second, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 combines the binary divisions of the world with the theme of the covenant: those who enjoy a good lot do not transgress and turn away from God's covenant (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:32–33; cf. also 1QS 4:22). Interestingly, covenantal obedience is a central theme also in the second two ways teaching found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 (cf. 3.3, below).

Third, the two ways and the lots introduce different kinds of binary classifications. In the two ways teaching, there is an absolute distinction between the two ways, but the logic behind the lots is that there is an incremental difference between people. Those who enjoy a good lot are closer to God, and those who have turned against stand afar from God.<sup>424</sup> The teaching concerning the lots thus accounts for the spirits of individual people. In addition, the wording of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:22 recalls the Treatise of the Two Spirits by referring to casting a lot between good and evil according to one's spirit (1QS 4:26; cf. Table 5 below). According to Eugene Merrill, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:22 "appears to be the only passage in the Hodayot where the two spirits are clearly mentioned."<sup>425</sup> In my view, however, Merrill fails to distinguish between different kinds of spirits. Even though both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and the Treatise of the Two Spirits describe a certain kind of dualism in each person by referring to their spirits, the overall understanding of these spirits in these texts is different. In many Thanksgiving Psalms, a man has a defected spirit from which he cannot completely free himself even if he is cleansed and God's own spirit is given to him.<sup>426</sup> The Treatise of the Two Spirits, on the other hand, depicts two spirits/angels warring in every man's heart.<sup>427</sup> The incremental differences between individuals is also in how man's inheritance (נחלה) is discussed in 1QH<sup>a</sup>—namely, that each

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<sup>424</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 285–86.

<sup>425</sup> Eugene H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns*, STDJ 8 (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 28.

<sup>426</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:15, 30, 32, 36; 6:14. Spirits are also referred to as created beings in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:25 and perhaps also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:14, 39.

<sup>427</sup> Newsom, "Flesh," 348–54.

person is allotted a different amount:<sup>428</sup> some enjoy a great inheritance of God's holy spirit (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:24), and the speaker will love others depending on the amount of their inheritance (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:30). Thus, the notion of inheritance is central to the two ways teaching in both 4Q417 1 i (l. 24) and the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 4:16, 24), while in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, man's inheritance is discussed only after the two ways teaching.<sup>429</sup>

Even though there are lexical similarities between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 and 1QS, neither text seems to make use of inspired interpretation of earlier traditions. While 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 and 1QS do include words used in similar syntactical relationships, there seems to be no effort to interpret passages from 1QS in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 (or vice versa).<sup>430</sup> In addition, the lexical similarities are scattered throughout the long manuscript of 1QS, making it unlikely for there to have been an intentional use of earlier traditions. It is also difficult to demonstrate any direction of influence between the two sectarian compositions, and it may be more likely that there are similar ideas and expressions between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 and 1QS simply because of the shared social context in which the two compositions were created.

Table 5. Lexical Similarities between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 and 1QS<sup>431</sup>

| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 6:20–22  | 1QS 1:3–4 <sup>432</sup>   |
|---|--|
| <p>ולברך 21 בְּצִדְקָה כֹּל בּוֹחֵר רְצוֹנֶךָ לְבַחֵר בְּכֹל<br/> א[שֶׁר] אֶהְבֵּתָה וּלְתַעֵב אֶת כֹּל אֲשֶׁר 22 [שִׁנְאַתָּה]<br/> and bless 21. with righteousness all who<br/> choose what pleases you, [to chose all t]hat<br/> you love, an abhor all that 22. [you hate]</p> | <p>וּלְאַהֲבֹה כֹל 4 אֲשֶׁר בָּחַר<br/> וּלְשִׂנּוֹא אֶת כֹּל אֲשֶׁר מָאָס<br/> In order to love everything 4. which he selects<br/> and to hate everything that he rejects;</p>   |
| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 6:22–23  | 1QS 4:26   |
| <p>לְפִי רוּחוֹת תִּפְלֹם בֵּין 23 טוֹב לְרָשָׁע<br/> For according to (their) spirits you cast (the lot)<br/> for them between 23. good and evil</p>   | <p>וַיִּנְחִיל לְבָנֵי אִישׁ לְדַעַת טוֹב [וְ... לְ[ה]פִיל<br/> גִּזְרֵי לֵכֹל חַי לְפִי רוּחוֹ ב... [עַד מוֹעֵד] הַפְּקוּדָה<br/> and has given them as a legacy to the sons of<br/> men so that they know good [and evil ... and]<br/> to cast the lots of every living being according<br/> to his spirit in [... until the time of] the<br/> visitation.</p> |

<sup>428</sup> A person's inheritance is also referred to in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:22, but the psalm does not elaborate further on this topic.

<sup>429</sup> Cf. also 4Q418 172 5; Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 198–199.

<sup>430</sup> Cf. Hughes's guidelines for identifying an allusion referred to in 1.4, above.

<sup>431</sup> Concerning all other passages but the last one, cf. Newsom, *The Self*, 278. Concerning שבועה (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:28), cf.

Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 96.

<sup>432</sup> The Hebrew text and English translation of 1QS are given according to García Martínez & Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition*.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:24</b>  | <b>1QS 11:13</b>   |
| וכן תגישנו לבינתך<br>Thus you <b>draw</b> him <sup>433</sup> <b>closer</b> to your understanding   | ברחמיו הגישני<br>he will <b>draw</b> me <b>near</b> in his mercies   |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:28</b>  | <b>1QS 5:8</b>   |
| ובשבועה הקימותי על נפשי לבלתי חטוא לך<br>by the <b>oath</b> I <b>pledged</b> <b>upon</b> my <b>life</b> not to sin against you   | ויקם על נפשו בשבועת אסר לשוב אל תורת משה<br>He shall <b>swear</b> <b>with</b> a binding <b>oath</b> to revert to the Law of Moses  |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:29–30</b>   | <b>1QS 9:15–16</b>   |
| וכן הוגשתי ביחד כול אנשי סודי<br>לפי 30 שכלן אגישנו<br>An thus I was <b>brought</b> into association with all the men of my counsel. <b>According to 30. his insight</b> I will <sup>434</sup> <b>associate with him</b> | ואיש כרוחו כן לעשות משפטו ואיש כפיו לקרבו<br>ולפי שכלו 16 להגישו וכן אהבתו עם שנאתו<br>He should carry out the judgment of each man in accordance with his spirit; he should include each one according to purity of his hands and <b>according to his intellect 16. promote him.</b> And thus shall be his love and thus shall be his hatred. |

### 3.2.2 Inspired Interpretation of Earlier Traditions

Even though God's active role in revealing divine knowledge to the speaker is constantly highlighted in the psalm (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:19, 20, 36), the two-ways teaching presented at the beginning of the psalm seems, based on a close reading of the passage, to suggest that the author of the psalm played an active role in formulating the divine mysteries. From the overall topic and vocabulary used in the psalm, the author seems to have been inspired by the deterministic two ways teaching found in Instruction (4Q417 1 i), as Eibert Tigchelaar has previously argued.<sup>435</sup> However, 4Q417 1 i does not deal extensively with the creation, and, therefore, the creation imagery in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 seems to recall other earlier passages in which the creation is recounted. Bringing together traditions from Instruction and from the first creation account of Genesis, Isaiah 34:1, Psalm 135:6, and Hymn to the Creator, the psalmist reveals how everyone's fate had been determined already at the moment of creation. In addition, the creation of the divine beings is depicted by interpreting the first creation account of Genesis and the Hymn to the Creator (11QS 26 12). A summary of all lexical parallels in these passages are presented at the end of this chapter (cf. Table 7).

<sup>433</sup> If one should read תגישני instead of תגישנו, the parallel draws even closer to 1QS 11:13; cf. 3.2, above; Hasselbalch, *Meaning and Context*, 80.

<sup>434</sup> For a different translation, cf. Hasselbalch's argument above.

<sup>435</sup> On the two ways teaching in Instruction, see 3.1, above. The parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4Q417 1 i are presented in Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 203–7. Elgvin suggests other parallels, but these are based on unlikely reconstructions as Tigchelaar has argued; cf. Elgvin, "An Analysis," 160–63.

In both 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4Q417 1 i, similar terminology is used to depict the object of knowledge. In both passages, the binary division is described in terms of “wisdom and folly” (חוכמה וואולת). The same expression appears also in 1QS 4:24, presumably due to the influence of Instruction.<sup>436</sup> There are also other binary expressions used in 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4Q417 1 i that come close to one another but are not identical—for instance, דרכי אמת ומעשי רע (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:20) and אמת ועול (4Q417 1 i 6) or [טו]ב לרע (4Q417 1 i 18).<sup>437</sup> In addition to the expression “wisdom and folly,” both passages refer to the object of knowledge as “wonderful mysteries” (רזי פלא),<sup>438</sup> a term that appears also in other parts of Instruction<sup>439</sup> and in other Thanksgiving Psalms<sup>440</sup> as well as in other, mostly sectarian compositions.<sup>441</sup> However, only in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:15 and 4Q417 1 i does the term “wonderful mysteries” refers to a two ways teaching. In 4Q417 1 i, these are referred to twice, described in lines 2 and 13 explicitly as an object of knowledge. In 4Q417 1 i 13, meditation on the teaching presented in 4Q417 1 i—also referred to as “these things” (אלה)—likewise results in knowledge of the wonderful mysteries. As discussed already in the previous subchapter, the two ways, “these things” (אלה), and wonderful mysteries are also associated with one another in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5. That wonderful mysteries are associated with the two ways teaching in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i, then, speaks against the possibility that the term would appear in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 because of the overall influence Instruction had on the Thanksgiving Psalms.

Additionally, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i share a deterministic worldview, as expressed by the phrase “for all the eternal epochs and the everlasting visitation” (לכול קצי עולם ופקודת עד). This phrase appears only in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i.<sup>442</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5, the speaker describes how God created everything “[according to] all the plans for them for all the eternal epochs and the everlasting

<sup>436</sup> The two words are contrasted with one another already in Proverbs (14:1, 8; 26:5). On the relationship between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and the Treatise of the Two Spirits, see below.

<sup>437</sup> Note, however, that the term דרכי אמת appears in other part of Instruction (4Q416 2 iii 14 = 4Q418 9 15) and in 1QS 4:17.

<sup>438</sup> On the term “mystery that is to be” (רזי נהיה), cf. 1.3.2, above.

<sup>439</sup> Cf. 4Q418 219:2.

<sup>440</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23; 10:15; 12:28; 15:30; 19:13, [19].

<sup>441</sup> Cf. CD 3:18; 1Q27 1 i 7; 1QS 9:18 = 4QS<sup>d</sup> 8:3; 1QS 11:5; 4QS<sup>e</sup> 3:17; 4Q511 44–47 i 6; [11Q11 3:8]. Cf. also רזי הפלא in 4Q403 1 ii 27.

<sup>442</sup> The phrase כול קצי עולם occurs also e.g. in 1QS and 1QM; Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 196.

visitation.” Likewise, in 4Q417 1 6b–8a, the phrase refers to the destiny of (some of) God’s creation.<sup>443</sup>

The term “spirit of flesh” (רוח בשר) is used when discussing the recipients of divine knowledge in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i to refer to the defective nature of a human being. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:30, however, every person is said to have a spirit of flesh, even those who are members of the elect and recipients of divine revelation. In Instruction, on the other hand, only those who do not possess knowledge are characterized as having spirits of flesh (cf. 4Q417 1 i 17). Due to this difference, Matthew Goff suggests that the term is used independently in the two compositions.<sup>444</sup> However, this explanation is unlikely given the other lexical parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i. It is more likely the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 was familiar with 4Q417 1 i but interpreted the term “spirit of flesh” differently.

Compared to 4Q417 1 i, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 discusses the creation in greater detail. Stanza 2A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:24b–30a) emphasizes how God has created everything according to their plan: the firmament, the earth, the seas, and the deeps, and everything that is in them. The words “to create,” “firmament,” “deeps,” and “host” (ברא, רקיע, תהום, and צבא) can all be found in Genesis 1:1–2:4, though not, for example, in the second creation account of Genesis.<sup>445</sup> By using these words, the author of stanza 2A thus calls attention to the fact that the creation of spirits is not depicted in Genesis, an omission that the psalmist seeks to amend with wordplay. According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:25, God created (ברא) the entire world, including the firmament (רקיע). The psalmist therefore plays with the ambiguity of the word “host” (צבא) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:25–26. While the word used in plural can refer, as is likely the case also in Genesis 2:1, to the moon, sun, and stars,<sup>446</sup> in singular, the word צבא refers to the “host (of spirits),” thus including the creation of the spirits among the first of God’s works in the creation.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>443</sup> Because of the fragmentary nature of the previous lines, it is uncertain to what exactly the third-person plural suffix exactly refers.

<sup>444</sup> Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 282. The term “spirit of flesh” appears in both compositions also outside 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i. Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:37; 4Q416 1:12; 4Q418 81+81a:12.

<sup>445</sup> For ברא, cf. Gen 1:1, 27; 2:3. For רקיע, cf. Gen 1:6–8, 14–15, 17, 20. For תהום, cf. Gen 1:2. For צבה, cf. Gen 2:1.

<sup>446</sup> In Gen 2:1, the word צבא appears in singular, not only in relation to the heavens but also in relation to earth: “Thus the heavens and the earth were finished, and all their multitude (צבאם).”

<sup>447</sup> It seems that there are no significant lexical parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and Jub 2, where the creation of heavenly beings is also recounted. Cf. 4.2.2, below.



Furthermore, the creation of the heavenly beings seems to be discussed by interpreting the Hymn to the Creator. Both the Thanksgiving Psalm and the Hymn to the Creator (11Q5 26:12) contain the phrase “for you showed them what not” (כי הראיתם את אשר לא)—except that in the Hymn to the Creator, God is referred to in third person singular. The parallel suggests that the *lacuna* in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:28 could be filled with the verb יִדְעוּ.<sup>448</sup> The Hymn to the Creator refers to angels, to whom God showed what they did not know—the fine food and produce God had created—and thus the angels sang for joy. Due to the *lacunae*, it is not clear whether 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:28 also refers to angels. On the one hand, the parallel with the Hymn to the Creator together with a reference to those who “might make known your glory in all your dominion” (יִסְפְּרוּ כְבוֹדְךָ בְּכֹל) (ממשלתך, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:28) suggests that this is the case. If 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:28 does refer to angels, the entire passage would resemble Jubilees 2:2–3, according to which God created the heavenly beings on the first day, together with the heavens and the earth, after which the heavenly beings praised God.<sup>449</sup> On the other hand, it is possible that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 refers to human beings instead of angels, as knowing and recounting God’s glory is often assigned to humans (perhaps together with the divine beings) in the Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>450</sup> It is doubtful whether the object of knowledge in stanza 2A is a single part of the creation (like the fine food and produce in the Hymn to the Creator), but the entire creation is certainly said to reveal God’s foreordained plan (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:27–30).

1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 describes the pre-determined path for all creation that will ultimately lead to judgment. Such a deterministic mindset cannot be found in Isaiah 34 or Psalm 135 but they do discuss God’s ability to decide the fate of his creation. According to Psalm 135:5–14, God does whatever pleases him, not only to effect natural phenomena but also to defeat Israel’s enemies and give to Israel its lands. The phrase “in the seas and in the deeps” (בַּיָּמִים וּבִתְהוֹמוֹת) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:26 resembles the expression found in Psalm 135:6, the only passage in the Hebrew Bible in which the words יָמִים and תְּהוֹמוֹת are juxtaposed so closely.<sup>451</sup> According to Isaiah 34:1–4, God will destroy both the nations and the host of heaven. The author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 also combines “creation language” and a discussion of everyone’s fate, adding that everyone’s fate was determined already at the

<sup>448</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 301.

<sup>449</sup> On Jub 2 and the praising God for his deeds in creation, see 4.2.2, below.

<sup>450</sup> For how God’s glory is recounted, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:9; 20:33; 21:9; 23:24. References to recounting, e.g., God’s wonders are numerous.

<sup>451</sup> The words יָמִים and תְּהוֹמוֹת appear in the same verse in Hab 3:10 and Ps 104:6.

moment of creation. Both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:26 and Isaiah 34:1 also refer to land and “all that springs from it” (וכול צאצאיה), though the word used to designate land is different (תבל in Isaiah 34:1; ארץ in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:26).

In addition to four expressions presented above, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i also share several individual words. These less distinctive expressions are not central to discussing how the predetermined path of the creation is understood in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i, but the similarities can be considered as cumulative evidence for the interdependence of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i. Table 6, below, introduces the words that appear frequently, as well as those words that are used in a specific meaning or grammatical form in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i. As can be expected of two ways teachings, דרך and הלך (of which the latter is used in *hithpa'el*) appear in both passages. Also, רע and אמת are used in (different) word pairs to describe opposing ethical principles. The root בין is used in *hithpolel*. The word מחשבה refers to God’s preordained plan for his creation.<sup>452</sup> The word מעשה is common in Hebrew, but it is still notable how frequently it appears in both passages, referring either to deeds or to created beings.<sup>453</sup> In 4Q417 1 i, the addressee is called בן משכיל,<sup>454</sup> while in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, the speaker of the psalm is referred to as a wisdom teacher, משכיל. Both passages refer to אנוש as recipient(s) of divine knowledge.<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>452</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 128, 151–52, 185, 219; Thomas, *The “Mysteries,”* 174–75.

<sup>453</sup> Cf. Elgvin, “An Analysis,” 160–61.

<sup>454</sup> On משכיל in Instruction, cf. 1.3.2, above.

<sup>455</sup> Elgvin, “An Analysis,” 161. However, the meaning of אנוש in 4Q417 1 i is difficult to determine; cf. Goff, *The Worldly*, 95–99.

Table 6. Distinct Vocabulary Shared by 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i

| Shared Word/Root | 1QH <sup>a</sup> 5 |              | 4Q417 1 i |    |
|------------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------|----|
| משכיל            | 12                 | למ[שכיל      | בן משכיל  | 25 |
| מעשה             | 12                 | מַעֲשֵׂי אֱל | מעשי קדם  | 3  |
|                  | 20                 | מעשי רע      | מַעֲשֵׂה  | 5  |
|                  | 21                 | מעשיהם       | מַעֲשֵׂה] | 7  |
|                  | 23                 | למעשה        | מ[עשיו    | 12 |
|                  | 25                 | מעשה         | מַעֲשֵׂי  | 19 |
|                  | 27                 | מעשיך        |           |    |
|                  | 36                 |              |           |    |
| אנוש             | 14                 | אנוש         | לאנוש     | 16 |
| הלך              | 14                 | התהלכו       | התהלכו    | 12 |
|                  | 21                 | התהלכו]      | להתהלך    | 10 |
|                  |                    |              | והתהלכו   | 19 |
|                  | 17                 | רזי מחשבת    | מחשבתו    | 12 |
|                  | 26                 | מחשבותם      |           |    |
| דרך              | 20                 | דרכי אמת     | דרכיהם    | 7  |
| אמת              | 20                 | דרכי אמת     | אמת       | 6  |
| רע               | 20                 | רע           | לרע       | 18 |
| בין              | 38                 | להתבונן      | והתבונן   | 12 |
|                  |                    |              | התבונן    | 25 |

There are so many lexical parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i that they cannot be explained by a shared theme or an overall influence of Instruction on the Thanksgiving Psalms. The author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 must therefore have been acquainted with the kind of two ways teaching presented in 4Q417 1 i. I thus disagree with the suggestion posited by Tigchelaar that the two-ways teaching of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 must have been influenced by both Instruction and the Treatise of the Two Spirits.<sup>456</sup> In my view, the similarities between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and the Treatise of the Two Spirits can be explained by their authors' acquaintance with 4Q417 1 i.<sup>457</sup> Furthermore, if the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 had been influenced by the Treatise of the Two Spirits, one would need then to explain why only the later redaction layer (1QS 3:13–18; 4:14–26, according to Tigchelaar) was utilized and not

<sup>456</sup> Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 194–203; 206–7. The same is suggested by Newsom, *The Self*, 217–18. Cf. also Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 78

<sup>457</sup> Cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 196–99.

the part of the Treatise of the Two Spirits that teaches about the dualistic division of light and darkness as well as the two kinds of angels (found in 1QS 3:18–4:14).<sup>458</sup>

The lexical parallels with 4Q417 1 i invite the audience of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 to recognize the topic of 4Q417 1 i—that is, the predetermined ways God has created.<sup>459</sup> In both 4Q417 1 i and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5, knowledge of the two ways is presented as divinely revealed knowledge, a mystery. Furthermore, this divinely revealed knowledge is mediated through the teachings of a wisdom teacher.<sup>460</sup> In both compositions, knowledge of the two ways is further restricted to a member of the elect. The discussion in 4Q417 1 i 14–18 demonstrates that divinely revealed knowledge is reserved only for the spiritual people.<sup>461</sup> According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:13, the teaching is only recited to the simple (פִּתְאִים). Likewise, the latter part of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:13–18) describes a member of the elect as a recipient of divine knowledge.

Another similarity between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 and 4Q417 1 i is that both teachings include a deterministic worldview, as the phrase “for all the eternal epochs and everlasting visitation” demonstrates.<sup>462</sup> Both teachings also refer to the eschatological rewards and punishments. In 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the two ways lead into either peace or destruction (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:20–23). God’s wrath, judgment, and eternal visitation are mentioned several times as well (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:16, 23, 24–27). In Instruction, on the other hand, eternal rewards and punishments are discussed especially in relation to the Book of Memorial (4Q417 1 i 14–18).<sup>463</sup>

Inasmuch as the fragmentary nature of the scrolls can reveal, the creation seems also to be discussed in greater detail in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 than in 4Q417 1 i. As the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 recalls the first creation account of Genesis, Isaiah 34, Psalm 135, and the Hymn to the Creator, the focus of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 is mostly on the creation of the universe, while the creation of man as such is not recounted. Thus, as in Instruction, the binary division is presented as a principle that regulates the entire cosmos. The

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<sup>458</sup> Concerning the two redaction layers in the Treatise of the Two Spirits, cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 201–3.

<sup>459</sup> Major parallels between two passages can be studied as a “structural allusion.” Hughes identifies few structural allusions in the Thanksgiving Psalms; cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 55, 79, 153, 155, 168, 200, 220.

<sup>460</sup> Cf. 3.1, above.

<sup>461</sup> Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 279.

<sup>462</sup> Cf. the discussion above.

<sup>463</sup> According to Elgin, both passages reflect realized eschatology: “What traditionally was preserved for the future was being experienced in the present: The last days are ready at hand”; Elgin, “An Analysis,” 117–18, 160. However, the belief in realized eschatology is more apparent in some other parts of 1QH<sup>a</sup> and Instruction than in the two-ways teachings; cf. Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 284–87.

creation also features as a prominent theme in the two ways teaching in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:22–8:41. However, in this teaching, the focus is on the creation of men, as discussed in the following section (3.3).

Table 7. Inspired Interpretation of Earlier Traditions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 (Similarities Highlighted)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:15</b>   | <b>4Q417 1 i 17–18<sup>464</sup></b>   |
| <p>°° [ ] °° רוח בשר בב° [ ] בכוח גבורתך<br/> °° [...] a <b>spirit of flesh</b> bb° [...] through your<br/> mighty strength</p>   | <p>ועוד לוא נתן הגוי לרוח בשר כי לא ידע בין [טו]ב<br/> לרע כמשפט [ר]וחו [ ]<br/> <i>But no more has meditation been given to a<br/> (?) <b>fleshly spirit</b>, For it (sc. flesh) knew/ knows<br/> not the difference between 18. [goo]d and evil<br/> according to the judgement of its [sp]irit.</i></p> |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:30–31</b>  |  |
| <p>[כי מה ה]יא רוח בשר להבין 31 בכול אלה<br/> [But how i]s <b>spirit of flesh</b> to understand 31. all<br/> these things</p>   |  |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:19</b>   | <b>4Q417 1 i 2</b>   |
| <p>[ ] וברזי פלאך הודע[תני בע]בור כבודך<br/> [... ] and <b>in</b> your <b>wonderful mysteries</b> [you]<br/> have instructed [me for the s]ake of your glory</p>                        | <p>[ו]ברזי פלא[י אל הנוראים תשכיל<br/> [And] <b>on the wondrous myster[ies of the God<br/> of the Awesome Ones thou shalt ponder.</b></p>  |
|   | <b>4Q417 1 i 13</b>  |
|   | <p>ואז תדע בכבוד ע[ו]ז ע[ם רזי פלאו וגבורות מעשיו<br/> And then thou shalt know about the glory of<br/> [His] m[ight, Toge]ther with His <b>marvellous<br/> mysteries</b> and the <i>mighty acts He has wrought.</i></p>   |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:20</b>   | <b>4Q417 1 i 6–7</b>   |
| <p>[ ] אתה גלית דרכי אמת ומעשי רע<br/> חוכמה ואולת[ ]<br/> [... ]you yourself have revealed the ways of<br/> <b>truth</b> and the works of evil, <b>wisdom and folly</b><br/> [...]</p> | <p>ואז תדע אמת ועול חכמה 7 [ואול]ת [ ]<br/> And then thou shalt know <b>truth</b> and iniquity,<br/> <b>wisdom 7. [and foolish]ness</b> <i>thou shalt<br/> [recognize]<sup>465</sup></i></p>   |

<sup>464</sup> On the parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4Q417 1, cf. Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 203–7. The Hebrew text and English translation of Instruction is given according to John Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4, XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2. 4QInstruction (Mûsâr L<sup>ê</sup> Mēvîn): 4Q415 ff. With a Re-edition of 1Q26, DJD 34* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

<sup>465</sup> In the critical edition of 4Q417 1 i published in the DJD series, the Hebrew text provided is left in its fragmentary state (°°° [ ] ת), but the English translation nonetheless gives “thou shalt [recognize].” The translation seems to be based on a parallel found in 4Q418 43 5: [ואולת תכיר]. Cf. Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4*, 255.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:25–26</b>  | <b>Isaiah 34:1</b>  |
| <p>בטרם בראתם עם צבא רוחיך ועדת [אליהם ע] רקיע<br/> קודשך וְכֹל 26 צבאותיו עם הארץ וְכֹל צִאֲצָאִיהָ<br/> בַּיָּמִים וּבַתְּהוֹמוֹת</p> <p>before you created them together with the<br/> host of your spirits and the congregation of<br/> the heavenly beings together with your holy<br/> firmament and all 26. its hosts, together with<br/> the earth and all that springs from it, in the<br/> seas and in the deeps,</p> | <p>קִרְבוּ גוֹיִם לִשְׁמָע וְלְאֻמִּים הִקְשִׁיבוּ תִשְׁמַע הָאָרֶץ<br/> וּמִלְאָה תִבָּל וְכָל-צִאֲצָאִיהָ:<br/> Draw near, O nations, to hear; O peoples, give<br/> heed! Let the earth hear, and all that fills it;<br/> the world, and all that comes from it.</p> <p><b>Psalm 135:6<sup>466</sup></b></p> <p>כָּל אֲשֶׁר-רָחַפֵּן יְהוָה עָשָׂה בַשָּׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ בַּיָּמִים וְכָל-<br/> תְּהוֹמוֹת:<br/> Whatever the Lord pleases he does, in heaven<br/> and on earth, in the seas and all deeps.</p> |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:26–27</b>  | <b>4Q417 1 i 7–8</b>  |
| <p>[כ] כֹּל מַחֲשַׁבוֹתֶם לְכֹל קִצֵּי עוֹלָם 27 וּפְקוּדַת עַד<br/> [according to] all the plans for them for all the<br/> eternal epochs 27. and everlasting visitation.</p>  | <p>מִעֲשֵׂה [ה] לְכֹל דְּרָכֵיהֶם עִם פְּקוּדָתָם לְכֹל קִצֵּי עוֹלָם<br/> וּפְקוּדַת עַד<br/> every ac[t] in all their ways, together with their<br/> punishment(s) in all ages everlasting, and the<br/> punishment of eternity.</p>  |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:28</b>   | <b>11Q5 (Hymn to the Creator) 26:12<sup>467</sup></b>   |
| <p>כִּי הִרְאִיתָם אֶת אֲשֶׁר לֹא י [ ]<br/> for you showed them what not y[...]</p>  | <p>אֲזָרְאוּ כֹל מַלְאכָיו וִירְנְנוּ<br/> כִּי {ה} הִרְאָם אֶת אֲשֶׁר לֹא יָדְעוּ<br/> When all His angels saw, they rejoiced in<br/> song—for He had shown them what they knew<br/> not:</p>  |

<sup>466</sup> Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 212.

<sup>467</sup> Newman, "Covenant Renewal," 301. The Hebrew text and English translation of the Hymn to the Creator are given according to Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll*.

**First Section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–25a**

Opening rubric (7:21–22a)

21 בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵי הָרַחֲמִים בְּשִׁיר־מְזֻמֹּר לְמִשְׁכֵּל [כִּיל]  
 [ ] דָּ רָנָה [ ]  
 22 [יִ] אֲהָבוּ אוֹתְךָ כּוֹל הַיָּמִים

Stanza 1A (7:22b–25a)

וְאַנִּי [ ] 23 אִמָּת [ ]  
 וְאֶהֱבֶכָה בְּנִדְבָה  
 וּבִכּוֹל לֵב וּבִכּוֹל נֶפֶשׁ בִּרְרָתִי מִעֲוֹן [וְעַל נֶפֶשׁ]  
 24 הִקֵּי [מוֹתִי לְבִלַּת] יָסוּר מִכּוֹל אֲשֶׁר צִוִּיתָה  
 וְאֶחֱזִיקָה עַל רַבִּים מִמֻּעָדִים לְיוֹם הָרֶגֶה  
 לְבִלַּת] 25 עֲזֹב מִכּוֹל חֻקֶּיךָ *vacat*

**First Section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–25a**

Opening rubric (7:21–22a)

21. Bless[ed are you God of compassion, with a  
 ]song, a psalm for Ins[tructor] ...[...]*d* glad cry  
 [...]  
 22. [... th]ey love you forever.

Stanza 1A (7:22b–25a)

And as for me, °[ ] 23. tru[th ...]  
 and I love you freely.  
 With all (my) heart and with all (my) soul I  
 have purified (myself) from iniquity.  
 [And upon] my [li]fe 24. [I] have sw[orn no]t to  
 turn aside from all that you have commanded.  
 I will stand firm against the many appointed  
 for the [day of slaughter,  
 no]t 25. abandoning any of your statutes.  
*vacat*

**Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a**

Stanza 2A (7:25b–27a)

אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי בְּבִינְתְּךָ  
 כִּי אֵל לֹא בִיד בָּשָׂר [יֻכַּל לְהִתֵּן] אָדָם 26 דֶּרֶכּוֹ  
 וְלֹא יֻכַּל אָנוּשׁ לְהַכִּין צֵדוֹ  
 וְאֶדְעָה כִּי בִידְךָ יֵצֵר כּוֹל רוּחַ  
 [וְכֹל פְּעוּלָ]תְּ 27 הַכִּינּוּתָהּ בְּטֶרֶם בְּרָאתָ  
 וְאֵיכָה יֻכַּל כּוֹל לְהַשְׁנוֹת אֶת דְּבָרֶיךָ

**Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a**

Stanza 2A (7:25b–27a)

And as for me, I know, by the understanding  
 that comes from you,  
 that it is not through the power of flesh [that]  
 an individual [may perfect] 26. his way,  
 nor is a person able to direct his steps.  
 And I know that in your hand is the inclination  
 of every spirit,  
 [and all] its [activi]ty 27. you determined  
 before you created it.  
 How could anyone change your words?

<sup>468</sup> The Hebrew text is given according to Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, and the English translation is given according to Schuller & Newsom, *The Hodayot*. However, I have divided the text into sections, stanzas, and verses myself. Concerning the principles for delimiting sections in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. 1.4, above.

## Stanza 2B (7:27b–30a)

רק אתה בְּ[רא]תה 28 צדיק  
ומרחם הכינותו למועד רצון  
להשמור בבריתך  
ולתהלך בכול  
ולהגִישׁ עליו 29 בהמון רחמך  
ולפתוח כול צרת נפשו לישועת עולם ושלוש עד ואין  
מחסור  
ותרם 30 מבשר כבודו

## Stanza 2B (7:27b–30a)

You alone [crea]ted 28. the righteous,  
and from the womb you prepared him for the  
time of favor,  
to be attentive to your covenant  
and to walk in all (your way),<sup>470</sup>  
and to advance (him) upon it<sup>471</sup> 29. in your  
abundant compassion,  
and to relieve all the distress of his soul for  
eternal salvation and everlasting peace,  
without lack.  
And so you raise 30. his honor higher than  
flesh.

## Stanza 2C (7:30b–34a)

ורשעים בראתה ל[י]צָר חֲרוֹנִכָּה  
ומרחם הקדשתם ליום הרגה  
31 כי הלכו בדרך לא טוב  
וימאסו בברִיתְכָּה  
וחוקי[ך] תעבה נפשם  
ולא רצו בכול אשר 32 צויתך  
ויבחרו באשר שנאתך  
כיֹא לֹקְ[צי חרו]נך הכינותם  
לעשות בם שפטים גדולים 33 לעיני כול מעשיך  
ולהיות לאוֹת וּמוֹפְ[ת דורות] עולם  
לדעת כֹּל אֵת כבודך ואת כוחך 34 הגדול

## Stanza 2C (7:30b–34a)

But the wicked you created for the [pur]pose  
of your wrath,  
and from the womb you dedicated them for  
the day of slaughter.  
31. For they walk in the way that is not good,  
and they despise yo[ur] covenant,  
[and] their soul abhors your [statutes].  
They do not take pleasure in anything that 32.  
you have commanded,  
but they choose what you hate.  
For you determined them for the a[ges of]  
your [wra]th  
in order to execute great judgments upon  
them 33. in the sight of all your creatures,  
and to be a sign and a por[tent for] everlasting  
[generations],  
so that all may know your glory and your great  
strength.

## Stanza 2D (7:34b–35a)

ומה אף הוא בשר כי ישכיל [באלה  
ויצָר עפר איד יוכל להכין צעדו vacat  
35 אתה יצרתה רוח

## Stanza 2D (7:34b–35a)

34. But what is flesh that it should have insight  
into [these things?  
And] how is [a creat]ure of dust able to direct  
its steps? vacat  
35. You yourself have formed the spirit

<sup>470</sup> One would expect *he* to follow *lamed*, as well as a noun to follow the word בכול; cf. Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 106–7.

<sup>471</sup> On the difficulties in reading and translating עליי ולהגִישׁ, see Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 107.



ופעולתה הכינות[ה מעולם]  
ומאתך דרך כול חי

and determined its activity [from of old].  
And from you (comes) the way of every living being.

**Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35b–?**  
Stanza 3A (7:35b–38a)

ואני ידעתי כיא 36 לא ישוה כול הון באמתך  
ואין בְּתָ[בל כמלאכי] קדושך  
ואדעה כי בם בחרתה מכול  
37 ולעד הם ישרתוך  
ולא תקבל שוֹחֵד [למעשי רע ]  
ולא תקח כופר לעלילות רשעה  
כיא 38 אל<sup>469</sup> אמת אתה  
וכול עולם תשמיד לְ[עד  
וכול ] רְשָׁעָה לא תהיה לפניך

**Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35b–?**  
Stanza 3A (7:35b–38a)

And as for me, I know that 36. no wealth can compare with your truth,  
and there are none in the w[orld like] your holy [angels].  
I know that you have chosen them above all (others),  
37. and they will serve you forever.  
You do not accept a bribe [for evil acts, ]  
nor do you take a ransom for guilty deeds.  
For 38. you are God of truth,  
and all iniquity you will destroy for[ever]  
and no wickedness will exist in your presence.

Stanza 3B (7:38b–?)

ואני ידעתיך 39 כי לך ד[רך ] כָּ[ו]לִי חִי  
וּבְרָצוֹנְךָ [כול ] מַעֲשֵׂה  
ואד[עה] כיא לְ[ ]  
40 קודשך בִּ[ ]  
41 כי בִּ[ ]  
[ 8: 1–7 ]  
8 [ ] וְכֹלִי [ ]  
9 [ ] אנשי מ[וֹפֶת תְּבִיא במספר  
10 [ ] ואין כרזי פ[ ] לְאֹ בַשְּׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ  
11 [ ] וְיָדָה  
ובידך משפט כֹּלִם  
12 [ ] וְיָדָה [ ]  
ואין לְנִגְדְךָ  
ומה נחשב  
וכֹלִי 13 [איש] מִתְקַדֵּשׁ בִּל יִטֶּה לְאִשְׁמֹה  
לְיִשְׁרָה לְבָבוֹ  
איכה לְיָבִין

Stanza 3B (7:38b–?)

And I myself know 39. that to you belongs the w[ay] of ev[er]y living being  
and your will [ ] every] deed.  
I kn[ow that ]/[...]  
40. your holiness b[...]  
41. for b[...]  
8:1–7. [...]  
8. [...]m and all [...]m  
9. [...]men of po]rtent you bring in by number  
10. [...] and there is nothing like] his [won]drous [mysteries] in the heavens and upon the earth  
11. [...]wt  
and in your hand in the judgment of them all  
12. [...]k [...]m  
And there is none] to compare with you.  
And how shall he be regarded?  
And every 13. [person] who sanctifies himself will not turn to guilt,  
in order to make his heart right [...  
how] can he understand?

<sup>469</sup> The word is written in Paleo-Hebrew script.

ולא יעשה כול 14 [מבלע] דִּיךְ עֵד עוֹלָם  
 וּמִקּוֹר אֹר פְּתַחְתָּהּ [ ]  
 ולעצתך תקראני 15 לְהַלֵּל קוֹדְשְׁךָ מִפִּי כָל מַעֲשֵׂיךָ  
 כִּיֹּא פַעֲלַתְּ [ה]  
 להוֹ[חַד עם עֲבָה 16 [ג] בְּזוּרֵי עוֹלָם  
 וְרוּחַ עוֹרֵף קִשָּׁה לְדַמְמָהּ [ ]  
 הוֹאֲלַתְּ [ה] לְ[עֲשׂוֹת] 17 [בם מ] שְׁפֹט  
 ולהאזין קול נכבד לְמַעַשְׁי [ ]  
 18 [ור] וּח נְעוּה מִשְׁלָה [בִּצְרָ עֶפְרָ 19 [ ] וֹ[ ]  
 19 [ ] מִמֶּ[ ] מִשְׁ[ ] וְ[ ]  
 מִעֶפְרָ [צ] דִּיק וְכָבֹ[ ] [ ]  
 20 בְּרוּחַ קוֹ[ד] שְׁךְ [אשר נתת] ה בי 21 [ ]  
 ולא יוכל אֶ[נוש לבקש] 21 רֹחַ קוֹדְשְׁךָ [ ] [ ]  
 מְלוֹא הַשָּׁמַיִם וְהָאָרֶץ [כ] בֹּדֵד  
 מְלוֹא כֹל [תבל]  
 22 ואדעה כי ברצוֹנְךָ [באיש הבריתה נחלתו]  
 בְּצִדְקוֹתֶיךָ [ ] אִתְּךָ אִתְּךָ בְּכֹל [ ]  
 23 ומשִׁמְרֵךְ צִדְקָה עַל דְּבָרְךָ  
 אשר הפקדתה בו פֶּן יִשְׁגָּה [ממצוותיך]  
 ול[בלתי כשול בכול מע] שִׁי  
 כי 24 בדעתי בכול אלה אמצאה מענה לשון  
 להִתְנַפֵּל וּלְהִתְ[חנן] [תמיד] עַל פִּשְׁעֵי  
 ולבקש רוח בִּינְךָ [ה]  
 25 ולהתחזק ברוח קוֹדְשְׁךָ  
 וּלְדָבוֹק בְּאֵמַת בְּרִיתְךָ  
 ולעובדך באמת ולב שלם

And nothing is done 14. [apart] from you forever.  
 A source of light you have opened[...]  
 and for your council you have called me  
 15. to praise your holiness by the mouth of all  
 your creatures,  
 for you have don[e ...  
 to be un]ited with the host of 16. the eternal  
 [wa]rriors.  
 And a stubborn spirit into calmness[...]  
 yo[u] decided to [make] 17. [ju]dgment [upon  
 them]  
 and to make the glorious voice heard<sup>472</sup> by the  
 creature[s of ...]  
 18. [... and] a perverted [sp]irit has rule[d] over  
 a vessel of dust °[...]<sup>o</sup> and °[...]  
 19. [...]° m°°°°°°°°°° š [...]°°° [...]° yk from dus[t  
 ...ri]ghteous and kb°[...]  
 20. by means of your ho[l]y spirit [which yo]u  
 [placed] in me °°°° °[...]<sup>o</sup>  
 And hu[mankind] is not able [to search out]  
 21. your ho[l]y spirit °[...]  
 the fullness of the heavens and the earth [...]  
 your [gl]ory,  
 the fullness of all[ the world].  
 22. And I know that by [your] goodwill towards  
 a person you have multiplied his inheritance in  
 [your] righteous deeds [...]°°r your truth in all  
 [...]  
 23. and a righteous guard over your word  
 that you have entrusted to him lest he stray  
 [from your commandments  
 and so as n]ot to stumble in any of [his]  
 dee[ds].  
 For] 24. through my knowledge of all these  
 things I will find the proper reply,  
 falling prostrate and be[gg]ing for me]rcy  
 [continuously] on account of my transgression,  
 and seeking a spirit of understand[ing],  
 25. and strengthening myself through your  
 holy spirit,  
 and clinging to the truth of your covenant,  
 and serving you in truth and (with) a perfect  
 heart,

<sup>472</sup> Based on context, Newsom translates “make heard” instead of “hear;” Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 117.

ולאהוב את דְּבַר פִּי [יד] and loving the word of [your] mou[th].

#### Section division

#### Section division

- 26 ברוך אתה אֲדֹנָי  
גְדוֹלַת הָעֲצָה וְרֹב הָעֲלִילִיָּה  
אשר מעשיך הכול  
הנה הואלתה לעֲשׂוֹת בִּי רַחֲמִים [וב] 27 חסד  
ותחונני ברוח רחמך וּבְעֲבוּר כְּבוֹדךָ  
לך אתה הצדקה  
כי אתה עשית את כֹּל אֵלֶּה  
28 ובדעתי כי אתה רשמתה רוח צדיק  
ואני בחרתי להבר כפי רצו[נ]ך  
ונפש עֲבָדְךָ תִּעְבָּה כֹּל 29 מעשה עולה  
ואדעה כִּי לֹא יִצְדַּק אִישׁ מִבְּלַעֲדֶיךָ  
ואחלה פניך ברוח אשר נתתה בִּי  
להשלים 30 חֲסִידֶיךָ עִם עֲבֹדְךָ לְ[עו]לָם  
לטהרני ברוח קודשך  
ולהגישני ברצונך  
כגדול חסדיך [א] שֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ 31 עמדי  
וְלֹ[ה] עֲמָ[י]ד פְּעָמִי בְ[כֹל] מַעֲמָד רִצּוֹ[נ]ך  
אשר בח[ר]תָּה לְאוֹהֲבֶיךָ וּלְשׁוֹמְרֵי מִצְוֹתֶיךָ  
להתיצב 32 לִפְנֵיךָ לְעוֹלָם  
וְ[ל]כַּפֵּר עוֹן [ ]  
וְלִהְדוֹשׁ [ ] בְּרַצּוֹן  
וְלִהְתַּעַרֵּב בְּרוּחַ עֲבָדְךָ  
וְלִשְׁכַּל מַעֲשֵׂי[י]ךָ לְ[ ]  
33 אֵל יִסְ[ ] אֵל יִסְ[ ]  
ואל יב[ו] אֵל לִפְנֵי כֹל נֶגַע מַכְשׁוֹל מִחוּקֵי בְרִית  
כי יִסְ[ ] 34 פְּנִיךָ  
וְאִדְעָ[ה] כי אתה אל [חַנּוּן וְרַחוּם  
26. Blessed are you, O Lord,  
great in counsel and mighty in deed,  
because all things are your works.  
Behold you have determined to do me gr[eat]  
27. kindness,  
and you have been gracious to me in your  
compassionate spirit and for the sake of your  
glory.  
Righteousness belongs to you alone,  
for you have done all these things.  
28. Because I know that you have recorded the  
spirit of the righteous,  
I myself have chosen to cleanse my hands  
according to your wil[.]  
The soul of your servant abhors every 29.  
malicious deed.  
I know that no one can be righteous apart  
from you,  
and so I entreat you with the spirit that you  
have placed in me  
that you make 30. your kindness to your  
servant complete [for]ever,  
cleansing me by your holy spirit  
and drawing me nearer by your good favor,  
according to your great kindness [wh]ich you  
have shown 31. to me,  
and causing [my feet] to sta[nd in] the whole  
station of [your] good fa[vor],  
which you have cho[sen] for those who love  
you and for those who keep [your]  
commandments [that they may take their  
stand] 32. before you forever,  
and [atone for iniquity],  
and savo[r] what is pleasing,  
and mingle myself with the spirit of your work,  
and understand your deed[s] / [...]  
33. ○○○○ not y○ [...]w  
and let there not c[o]me before him any  
affliction (that causes) stumbling from the  
precepts of your covenant,  
for [...] 34. your face.  
And I kno[w that you are a God ]gracious and  
compassionate,



this is not likely in the case of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21 for two reasons. First, in manuscript 4QH<sup>a</sup>, the psalms are given in a different order compared to 1QH<sup>a</sup>, and manuscript 4QH<sup>a</sup> preserves a different psalm before 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41, indicating that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, a new psalm should begin at 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21. Secondly, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21 includes שִׁיר and מְזֻמֹּר, typical words for לְמַשְׁכִּיל headings.<sup>477</sup> Many commentators assume that the psalm ends somewhere in column 8,<sup>478</sup> though the upper and lower parts of column 8 are poorly preserved. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:8–16, the lines are copied to their very end, so there seems to be no psalm incipit in those lines.<sup>479</sup> One possible psalm incipit can be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26, which reads בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. However, Stegemann and Schuller argue that this phrase indicates a beginning of a subsection rather than that of a new psalm, since 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26 is not indented and scribe A usually indents the first line of a psalm when the previous line is written to its end.<sup>480</sup>

As in several Thanksgiving Psalms, blank spaces, independent pronouns, and key words structure the psalm. My analysis of the structure of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–41 follows Hughes’s analysis (cf. Table 8, below).<sup>481</sup> The first section consists of the opening rubric (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–22a) and stanza 1A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:22b–25a), which begins with וְאֵנִי and ends with a blank space. Stanza 1A includes a first-person singular reflection, and the theme of covenantal obedience already becomes apparent here, as the speaker proclaims his commitment to God’s commandments, and his separation from both iniquity and evil people.

The second section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a) can be divided into four stanzas. Stanzas 2A, 2B, and 2C are delimited by their use of different pronouns, as well as a short blank space between stanzas 2B and 2C. However, stanza 2D is more difficult to delimit. The most natural place for a stanza division would have been between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:34–35, as line 34 ends with a *vacat* and line 35 begins with the independent pronoun אַתָּה, which is followed by a verb in perfect. However, both Hughes and Tanzer argue that the blank space in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:34 should not be understood to indicate stanza division.<sup>482</sup> Hughes bases her argumentation on both the poetic structure and the

<sup>477</sup> Only the reading שִׁיר is Stegemann’s own. As for מְזֻמֹּר, Stegemann follows John Strugnell, who first suggested this reading. The reconstruction [לְמַשְׁכִּיל] was first suggested by Jean Carmignac; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 99–100, 103.

<sup>478</sup> Émile Puech, e.g., suggests that a new psalm begins at 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:3; Émile Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?*, EBib 22 (Paris: Librairie Lecoq, J. Gabalda, 1993), 385.

<sup>479</sup> Stegemann, “The Number,” 197.

<sup>480</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 110–11. On the differences between scribes A and C in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, see 1.4, above.

<sup>481</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 66–71.

<sup>482</sup> Tanzer, “The Sages,” 45.

content of the psalm, though she admits that she is hesitant in making this decision. According to Hughes, it is more likely that stanza 2D ends in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35 and that a new section begins with the phrase *ואני ידעתי* on the same line. Hughes offers three arguments in support this claim: first, the same phrase marks a division in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25; second, the same topic continues until 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35; third, when most of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35 is included in stanza 2D, the shared vocabulary form parallels with stanza 2A.<sup>483</sup> In addition, the short blank space before the final poetic line(s) may not be an anomaly in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. There is also a short *vacat* before the final line of the stanza in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33. I thus argue it is possible for stanza 2D to begin already at the beginning of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:34, with the rhetorical questions, continuing almost until the end of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35.

The second section is structured also by the repetition of key words. The root *בון* is used in each of the four stanzas.<sup>484</sup> Although shared only by three out of four stanzas, the use of the words/roots *דרך*, *יצר*, *בשר*, and *ברא* brings a sense of coherence to this section of the psalm.<sup>485</sup> In addition, there is vocabulary that only stanzas 2A and 2D—and that stanzas 2B and 2C—share. Both stanzas 2A and 2D use the phrases *להבין צעדו* (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:7:26, 34) and *ואיכה יוכל* (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:7:27, 34)<sup>486</sup> in addition to the word *רוח* (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:7:26, 35). Furthermore, if the partial reconstructions are correct, the phrase *ופעולתה הכינותה* should be added to the list. Stanzas 2B and 2C both juxtapose expressions like *צדיק* and *רשעים* and *מעוד רצון* and *יום הרגה*, as well as the roots *שמר* and *מעס*.<sup>487</sup>

Thematically, the second section contains a two ways teaching. The second section begins with the phrase “I know by the understanding that comes from you” (*ואני ידעתי בבינתך*), which denotes knowing through divine revelation.<sup>488</sup> Thus, as in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, God is presented

<sup>483</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 69.

<sup>484</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:27, 28, 32, 35.

<sup>485</sup> The words/roots *דרך* and *יצר* appear in stanzas 2A, 2C, and 2D. For *דרך*, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:26, 31, 35. For the root *יצר*, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:26, 30, 34, 35. The word *בשר* occurs in stanzas 2A, 2B, and 2D (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25, 30, 34), while and the root *ברא* in stanzas 2A, 2B, and 2C (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:27 [bis], 30).

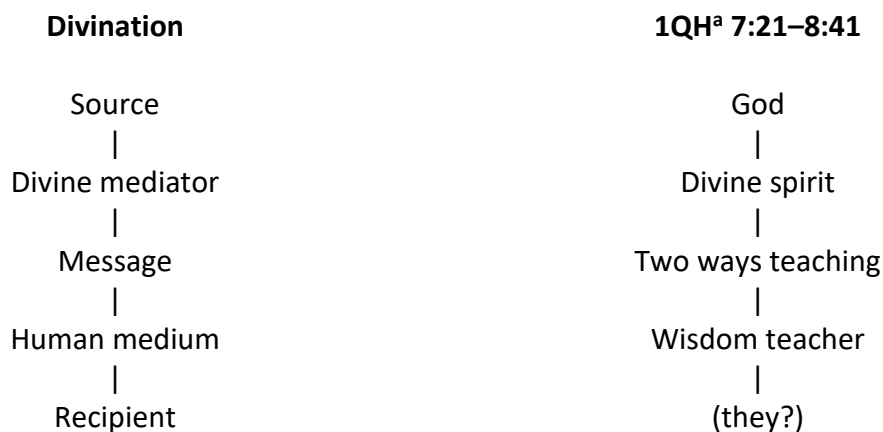
<sup>486</sup> Hughes mentions also that *בשר* occurs in stanza 2B; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 69, 94–95.

<sup>487</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 70.

<sup>488</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 211–12. According to Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions*, 71), the function of the phrase is to “introduce and reinforce the didactic and wisdom tone of the section.” The phrase appears frequently also in the Thanksgiving Psalms that refer more frequently to divine revelation; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:35; 6:23, 28; 9:23; 20:14; 21:34. The phrase “I know” is used frequently in the psalm but without a reference to divine origins—it is more confessional than cognitive in its nature; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 70. This psalm does not contain any references to knowing God’s mysteries or to God opening ears. Tanzer notes the lack of references to God as a revealer of mysteries in the psalm

as the ultimate source of what the speaker knows and that divine knowledge concerns the two ways. Stanza 2A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–27a) depicts God as the creator who directs the steps of man. Stanzas 2B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:27b–30a) and 2C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:30b–33), on the other hand, portray the divergent paths of the righteous and the wicked. Both groups are described as being created from the womb, but the righteous are destined for the period of approval, while the wicked are reserved for the day of slaughter.<sup>489</sup> The divine spirit is not mentioned in the second section, but column 8 does associate the speaker with the spirit and knowing (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:23, 32). It is uncertain whether the third person plural verb in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:22 refers to the recipients of divine knowledge. If not, the psalm does not preserve any reference to the recipients of divine knowledge.

*Table 8.* Transmission of Divine Knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41



The third section of the psalm begins at 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35b. As the end of column 7 is very fragmentary and the upper part of column 8 is missing, it is unclear where the third section ends. As it stands, this section can be further divided into at least two stanzas (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35b–38a and 7:38b–?), both of which begin with the phrase *וְאֲנִי יִדְעָתִי*. If the partial reconstruction is correct, the root *יָדַע* occurs twice more (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:36, 39). Stanza 3A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35b–38a) deals with God’s truthfulness, and stanza 3B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:38b–?) begins with a reference to God’s foreordained plan.<sup>490</sup>

that begins at 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21, a typical theme in Thanksgiving Psalms that include a significant number of wisdom elements; Tanzer, “The Sages,” 43, 47.

<sup>489</sup> For the creation of humanity in the Thanksgiving Psalms, see Jessi Orpana, “Reception of the Creation of Humanity: Transmission and Interpretation of the Creation Traditions in Late Second Temple Jewish Literature” (ThD diss, University of Helsinki, 2016), 103–9.

<sup>490</sup> The phrase *דַּרְךְ כּוֹל חַי* appears in both stanzas 3B and 2D. Cf. Puech’s tentative reconstruction of the end of col. 7; Puech, *La croyance*, 387.

Column 8 does not preserve any blank spaces. Furthermore, it is difficult to establish section and stanza division based on the use of independent pronouns.<sup>491</sup> However, one notable feature in column 8 is the repetition of key words. The word רִיח, which refers both to the human spirit<sup>492</sup> and to God's own spirit, occurs eleven times.<sup>493</sup> The expression "your holy spirit" in particular is used four times, notably frequently, as the expression is relatively uncommon in the Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>494</sup> The word מַעֲשֵׂה occurs also frequently, altogether six times, often referring to God's creatures (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:15, 17) or his deeds (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:23, 26, 32) and once also to malicious deeds (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:29). The root יָדַע appears five times.<sup>495</sup> The adjective שָׁלֵם appears twice and the verbal root שָׁלַם once, these being the only instances in the Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>496</sup> The depiction of the righteous life in column 8 ties together with the introductory stanza of the psalm: the righteous ones love God (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:22, 23; 8:25, 31, 35), do not abandon his commandments (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:24–25; 8:[23], 31, 33, 35), and cleanse themselves of iniquity (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:23; 8:28, 30).<sup>497</sup> God's covenant and commandments are also referred to in both columns 7 and 8. The word בְּרִית appears twice in column 8 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:25, 33) and twice in the second section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:28, 31). The word בְּרִית is not at all rare in the Thanksgiving Psalms, but the distribution of the word is uneven, as little than over 30% of all instance occur in only two psalms, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 and 12:6–13:6.<sup>498</sup> In addition, column

<sup>491</sup> The independent pronoun אֲנִי with the particle ו appears twice in the better-preserved latter half of the column 8. Of these two cases, the independent pronoun in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:28 seems unlikely to begin a new stanza, as it seems to continue the thought that begins already at the very beginning of the line. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:37, וְאֲנִי may begin a new stanza, but, as the end of col. 8 is destroyed, the stanza is almost nonexistent. In col. 8, the pronoun אַתָּה appears twice, together with a verb in perfect (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:27, 28), but neither of these seems to indicate a section/stanza division for a similar reason that אֲנִי does not do so in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:28.

<sup>492</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:16, 18, 28; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 391.

<sup>493</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:20, 21, 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, 32; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 391–92.

<sup>494</sup> Although both רִיח and קִדְש occur frequently throughout 1QH<sup>a</sup>, the expression (רִיח קִדְש) is preserved only six times outside of column 8 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:38; 6:24; 15:10; 17:32; 20:15; 23:33). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:13, the expression is used in plural, referring most likely to the heavenly beings; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 391–92.

<sup>495</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:22, 24, 28, 29, 34; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 398. The words/roots רִיח, מַעֲשֵׂה, and יָדַע appear also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–41. The root יָדַע occurs frequently at the beginning of a psalm, altogether seven times (cf. esp. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:26, 36, 39; also 7:25, 33, 35, 38.). The word רִיח appears twice in col. 7, where the formation of the human spirit is referred to (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:26, 35). The word מַעֲשֵׂה is used both in the meanings of "creature" and "deed" in col. 7 (ll. 33, 39); Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 350, 368, 391.

<sup>496</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 398.

<sup>497</sup> On loving God, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:22, 23; 8:25, 31, 35. On keeping God's commands, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:24–25; 8:[23], 31, 33, 35. On cleansing oneself, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:23; 8:28, 30.

<sup>498</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 336. Out of 29 occurrences, six are in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 and four in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41.



8 refers to God's commandments using two words that are not particularly common in the Thanksgiving Psalms: חק and מצוה. The word מצוה occurs only three times in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, two of which instances are in column 8 (ll. 31, 35).<sup>499</sup> Another word used to refer to God's commandments, חק, appears seven times in 1QH<sup>a</sup>, of which one is in column 8 (l. 33) and the other one in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25.<sup>500</sup>

In sum, I follow Stegemann and Schuller, who argue that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 constitutes one long psalm, within which the section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a presents a two ways teaching. The shared vocabulary demonstrates that both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–41 and column 8 discuss covenantal obedience. The structure of column 8 cannot be established except for the section division in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26. The structure of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–41 is thus as follows (as argued also by Hughes):<sup>501</sup>

#### First Section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–25a

|                           |                    |                             |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Opening rubric (7:21–22a) | Song and psalm     | Begins with בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה |
| Stanza 1A (7:22b–25a)     | God's commandments | Begins with וְאֲנִי         |
|                           |                    | Ends with <i>vacat</i>      |

#### Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a

|                       |                       |                                |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Stanza 2A (7:25b–27a) | Directing one's steps | Begins with וְאֲנִי            |
| Stanza 2B (7:27b–30a) | The righteous         | Begins with רַק אַתָּה         |
|                       |                       | Ends with a short <i>vacat</i> |
| Stanza 2C (7:30b–34a) | The wicked            | Begins with וְרָשָׁעִים        |
| Stanza 2D (7:34b–35a) | <i>Inclusio</i>       | Begins with וְמָה              |

#### Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35b–?

|                       |                      |                     |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| Stanza 3A (7:35b–38a) | Knowing God of truth | Begins with וְאֲנִי |
| Stanza 3B (7:38b–?)   | Knowing God's deeds  | Begins with וְאֲנִי |

Like the previous למשכיל psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33), 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 also combines the two ways tradition with the notion of man's inheritance, a reference of which can be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:22: "And I know that by [your] goodwill toward a person you have multiplied his inheritance in [your] righteous deeds." This phrase recalls 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:23–24.<sup>502</sup> From 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24 onwards, the speaker describes a spiritual transformation that takes place in the heart of the speaker through the holy

<sup>499</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 369.

<sup>500</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 347.

<sup>501</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 66–71. As discussed in the beginning of this subsection, Hughes argues that cols. 7 and 8 contain separate psalms.

<sup>502</sup> 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:23–24: As for me, I know from understanding that comes from you that through your goodwill toward a p[er]son you mul[ti]ply his portion] in your holy spirit.

spirit.<sup>503</sup> In this transformation, divinely revealed knowledge is presented as being of importance, as it prompts the speaker to pray to God. In this connection, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:23b–25 is worth quoting:

For] 24. through my knowledge of all these things I will find the proper reply,  
falling prostrate and be[ggings for me]rcy [continuously] on account of my  
transgression,  
and seeking a spirit of understand[ing],  
25. and strengthening myself through your holy spirit,  
and clinging to the truth of your covenant,  
and serving you in truth and (with) a perfect heart,  
and loving the word of [your] mou[th].

The expression “proper reply” (מענה לשון) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24, which may be drawn from Proverbs 16:1,<sup>504</sup> is used in the Thanksgiving Psalms several times to suggest that even the ability to speak originates from God. The expression “falling prostrate” (להתנפֿל) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24 is associated with Moses’s and Ezra’s intercessory prayers, and its use in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8 may be to present the speaker’s role as one of an intercessory prayer (cf. 2.2.2, 3.2.1, above). The speaker confesses his sinfulness and supplicates for forgiveness, features that are usually part of petitionary prayers (cf. below). The expression “spirit of understanding” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24 appears only this one time in the Thanksgiving Psalms and may be drawn from Isaiah 11:2 and/or from Instruction (4Q418 58 2; 73 1).<sup>505</sup> However, as noted in subsections 1.3.2 and 1.3.3, similar expressions can also be found in Sirach and in David’s Compositions in relation to Ben Sira’s and David’s role as inspired mediators. The phrase “in truth and (with) a perfect heart” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:25 can also be found in Hezekiah’s prayer (Isa 38:3 = 2 Kngs 20:3). Hezekiah recalls to God that he has walked before God “in faithfulness with whole heart” (בְּאֵמֶת וּבְלֵב שָׁלֵם).<sup>506</sup> A similar expression can be found at the end of the column in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:35 (cf. the table below).

<sup>503</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 304.

<sup>504</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 4:29; 10:9; 15:14, 16; 19:[31],37; A2 [2]. According to Holm-Nielsen, this expression may originate from Proverbs 16:1, but it also used often in later literature; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 37, 208.

<sup>505</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 113.

<sup>506</sup> Newman (“Covenant Renewal,” 303–4) argues that Psalm 51 influenced the wording here, as it, too, speaks of the heart, spirit, and cleansing. These similarities exist more on the level of idea than on the level of lexical similarity, as 1QH<sup>a</sup> speaks of the “perfect heart” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:25, 35) rather than a “clean heart” and the “spirit of the righteous” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:28) and “holy spirit” (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:30) rather than a “new and right spirit.” Esther Chazon also suggests that 1QH<sup>a</sup> could allude to Psalm 51; Esther G. Chazon “Tradition and Innovation in Sectarian Religious Poetry,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. J. Penner et al.; STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 63, n. 15. However, even the most striking lexical parallel with Psalm 51, טהרני, is quite a generic one.

The following section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26–41) consists of a prayer that includes elements usually found in penitential prayers, as Esther Chazon has argued. These elements include (1) “repentance-like statements” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:25, 29–31, 35); (2) “a double proclamation of divine justice”; (3) “the ‘Righteousness is Yours’ formula” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26–27); and (4) “recitation of the thirteen divine attributes” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:34–35). As mentioned above, confession of sin and supplication for forgiveness can be found already in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24.<sup>507</sup> There are several shared expressions between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26–41 and older traditions in which covenantal obedience is discussed (cf. Table 9, below). The proclamation of divine justice in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26 recalls Jeremiah 32:19. The immediate context of Jeremiah 32:19 (Jeremiah’s prayer in Jer 32:17–25) discusses Israel’s disobedience to God’s commandments. The phrase “righteousness belongs to you alone for you have done all these things” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:27) is probably a combination of Daniel 9:7 and Jeremiah 14:22. However, as Esther Chazon has argued, the combination can be found already in another liturgical collection, the Words of the Luminaries (4Q504 19:4–5) in which disobedience and atonement are discussed (4Q504 19). Because the wording of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:27 is like that in the Words of the Luminaries, it is more likely that the influence came through the Words of the Luminaries or some other liturgical collection than through the books of Daniel and Jeremiah.<sup>508</sup> Another liturgical formulation is the thirteen divine attributes that first appears in Moses’s prayer in Exodus 34:6–7. The form found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:34–35 seems like a combination of Exodus 34:7 and Jonah 4:2.<sup>509</sup> The self-designation “those who love you and keep your commandments” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:31, 35) brings to mind Exodus 20:6. The wording of the final plea in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:36 recalls the wordings of two Davidic prayers (Pss 86, 132) of which Psalm 132 discusses the importance of keeping God’s covenant and ordinances.

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<sup>507</sup> Chazon, “Tradition and Innovation,” 62–63.

<sup>508</sup> Idem, “Tradition and Innovation,” 60–61. Contra Armin Lange, who lists this as an allusion to Jer 14:22; Armin Lange, “The Textual of the Book of Jeremiah in Light of Its Allusions and Implicit Quotations in the Qumran Hodayot,” in *Prayer and Poetry in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honor of Eileen Schuller on the Occasion of Her 65th Birthday*, ed. J. Penner et al.; STDJ 98 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 258.

<sup>509</sup> Similar kinds of phrases can be found in Jer 32 and Ps 86 which may have prompted their use in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26–41. Cf. Table 9.

Table 9. Shared Expressions between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26–41 and Various Older Traditions (Similarities Highlighted)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26</b>  | <b>Jeremiah 32:19<sup>510</sup></b>  |
| ברוך אתה אדוני גִּדּוֹל הָעֲצָה וְרֹב הָעֲלִילָה<br>אשר מעשיך הכול<br>Blessed are you, O Lord, great in counsel and<br>mighty in deed,<br>because all things are your works.   | גִּדּוֹל הָעֲצָה וְרֹב הָעֲלִילָה אֲשֶׁר-עֵינֶיךָ פְּקֻחוֹת עַל-כָּל-<br>דְּרָכֵי בְנֵי אָדָם לְתֵת לְאִישׁ כְּדַרְכָּיו וְכַפָּרִי מַעַלְלֵיו<br>great in counsel and mighty in deed; whose<br>eyes are open to all the ways of mortals,<br>rewarding all according to their ways and<br>according to the fruit of their doings.  |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:27</b>  | <b>Words of the Luminaries (4Q504 19:4–5)<sup>511</sup></b>  |
| לך אתה הצדקה כי אתה עשיתה את כול אלה<br>Righteousness belongs to you alone,<br>for you have done all these things  | לכה אתה אדוני הצדקה<br>אתה עשיתה את כול אלה כי<br>5 To You, Lord, is righteousness for 5. You have<br>done all these things  |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:31<sup>512</sup></b>  | <b>Exodus 20:6<sup>513</sup></b>   |
| אשר בח[ר]תה לאוהביך ולשומרי מצוותיך<br>which you have cho[sen] for those who love<br>you and for those who keep [your]<br>commandments   | וְעֹשֶׂה חֶסֶד לְאֲלָפִים לְאַהֲבִי וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי מִצְוֹתַי<br>but showing steadfast love to the thousandth<br>generation of those who love me and keep my<br>commandments.   |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:34–35</b>   | <b>Jonah 4:2<sup>514</sup></b>   |
| ואדע[ה] כי אתה אל [חנן ורחום<br>ארוך אפים ורב חסד ואמת<br>ונושא פשע ומעל] ל<br>35 ונחם על כ[ול עון אוהב]יך ושומרי מצוותיך<br>And I know that you are a God [gracious and<br>compassionate,<br>patient and abounding in kindness and<br>faithfulness,<br>one who forgives transgression and<br>unfaithful[nes...],<br>35. moved to pity concerning a[ll the iniquity<br>of those who love] you and keep [your]<br>commandments, | כי ידעתי כי אתה אל-חנן ורחום ארך אפים ורב-חסד<br>ונחם על-הרעה<br>for I knew that you are a gracious God and<br>merciful, slow to anger, and abounding in<br>steadfast love, and ready to relent from<br>punishing.<br><b>Exodus 34:7<sup>515</sup></b><br>נצר חסד לאלפים נשא עון ופשע וחטאה ונקמה לא<br>ינקמה פקד   עון אבות על-בנים ועל-בני בנים על-<br>שלישים ועל-רבעים:<br>keeping steadfast love for the thousandth<br>generation, forgiving iniquity and<br>transgression and sin, yet by no means<br>clearing the guilty, but visiting the iniquity of<br>the parents upon the children and the<br>children's children, to the third and the fourth<br>generation. |

<sup>510</sup> Cf. e.g. Newman, "Covenant Renewal," 303–4; Chazon, "Tradition and Innovation," 62–63.

<sup>511</sup> The Hebrew text and English translation are given according to Chazon, "Tradition and Innovation," 60–61.  
Cf. discussion above.

<sup>512</sup> The same phrase is partly reconstructed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:35.

<sup>513</sup> Cf. Deut 5:10; 7:9; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 240.

<sup>514</sup> Cf. Exod 34:6–7 and Joel 2:13; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 115; Newman, "Speech and Spirit," 250.

<sup>515</sup> Chazon, "Tradition and Innovation," 61–63.

| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 8:35–36  | 2 Chronicles 19:9 <sup>516</sup>   |
|---|--|
| <p>ה[שבים אליך באמונה ולב שלם [ ] 36 לעובדך ב]<br/> לעשות ה[טוב בעיניך<br/> אל תשב פני עבדך<br/> [וא]ל תזנח בן אמתך [ ]</p> <p>[those] who have returned to you in<br/> steadfastness and (with) a perfect heart [...]<br/> 36. to serve you [in ... to do what is] good in<br/> your sight.<br/> Do not turn away the face of your servant<br/> [and do no]t reject the son of your handmaid.<br/> [...]</p> | <p>יצו עליהם לאמר כה תעשון ביראת יהוה באמונה<br/> ובלבב שלם</p> <p>He charged them: ‘This is how you shall act: in<br/> the fear of the Lord, in faithfulness, and with<br/> your whole heart;</p> <p><b>Isaiah 38:3</b></p> <p>ויאמר אנה יהוה זכר-נא את אשר התהלכתי לפניך<br/> באמת ובלבב שלם והטוב בעיניך עשיתי ויבך חזקיהו<br/> בכי גדול</p> <p>‘Remember now, O Lord, I implore you, how I<br/> have walked before you in faithfulness with a<br/> whole heart, and have done what is good in<br/> your sight.’ And Hezekiah wept bitterly.</p> <p><b>Psalms 132:10<sup>517</sup></b></p> <p>בעבור דוד עבדך אל-תשוב פני משיחך<br/> For your servant David’s sake do not turn away<br/> the face of your anointed one</p> <p><b>Psalms 86:16<sup>518</sup></b></p> <p>פנה אלי וחנני תנה-עוז לעבדך והושיעה לבן-אמתך<br/> Turn to me and be gracious to me; give your<br/> strength to your servant; save the child of your<br/> serving-maid</p> |

Altogether, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 ties together two concepts, the two ways and the covenant. The term “covenant” can be found in the two ways teaching itself (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:28), but the theme of the covenant is introduced already in the first stanza, where turning aside from God’s commandments is mentioned (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:24). Furthermore, the theme of the covenant continues into the latter part of the psalm. How the covenant is understood in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 resembles how the covenant is understood in the Community Rule (1QS). To this end, Philip Davies argues that, in the Community Rule manuscript 1QS, the concept of the covenant does not arise from Israel’s past (as in CD) but is rather related to the dualistic division of the world, a division that runs not between Israel and the gentiles but between the sons of light and darkness. God is not so much God of Israel as God of knowledge. In this framework, the divine mysteries are an important source of knowledge,

<sup>516</sup> Suggested by Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 240

<sup>517</sup> Similar expressions can be found also in 2 Chr 6:36.

<sup>518</sup> Cf. Ps 116:16; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 116.

as they allow for the right interpretation of God's commandments.<sup>519</sup> Even though the covenant—like everything else—is determined by God (1QS), free will still exists. Joining in the community, tantamount to joining the covenant, was a voluntary deed.<sup>520</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41, the covenant is also discussed as a part of the two ways schema: God has set people to walk in two diverse paths, and those who keep God's commandments are those whom God has chosen to walk the righteous path. In Jeremiah 10–12, covenantal obedience is discussed in relation to a historical situation, the exile, but in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a, covenantal obedience is interpreted in a different context, as a part of the created order.<sup>521</sup> Interestingly, determinism and free will co-exist in the Thanksgiving Psalm. On the one hand, the covenant is determined by God, because it is God who directs everyone's steps. On the other hand, the speaker loves God freely (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:23) and has sworn not to turn aside from God's commandments (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:24).<sup>522</sup> Furthermore, the speaker has chosen to cleanse his hands according to God's will (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:28), but the wicked have chosen what God hates (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:32). Thus, the covenant is portrayed as a mutual agreement, because it requires a response from the righteous, besides the demands of God.

As part of this two ways schema, the covenant is described as eternal.<sup>523</sup> This belief is expressed, among other places, in the final blessing of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26–41), where the speaker urges that God make his covenant faithfulness (חסד) eternal. The latter part of the psalm then deals with the transgression of the righteous, an idea that does not seem to fit into the two ways schema, as the two ways are supposed to present an absolute distinction between righteous and wicked.<sup>524</sup> In the Thanksgiving Psalms, however, transgression is not an individual act but a state of sinfulness that is an inherent part of human nature.<sup>525</sup> Thus, asking for forgiveness is not a major topic in the

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<sup>519</sup> Philip R. Davies, "The Torah at Qumran," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part 5, Volume 2. The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Worldview, Comparing Judaism*, ed. A. J. Avery-Peck et al.; HdO 57 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 34–36.

<sup>520</sup> Bilhah Nitzan, "The Concept of the Covenant in Qumran Literature," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature*, ed. D. Goodblatt; STDJ 37 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 98–101.

<sup>521</sup> For an interpretation of Jer 10–12 in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 81 and 3.3.2, below.

<sup>522</sup> Cf. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination*, 42–51.

<sup>523</sup> On the eternity of the covenant in the Damascus Document, cf. Nitzan, "The Concept," 95–96; Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. E. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; CJAS 10 (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 13.

<sup>524</sup> Cf. 3.2.1, above.

<sup>525</sup> In the Treatise of the Two Spirits, the transgression of the righteous is explained as a battle between the two spirits in everyone's heart; Newsom, *The Self*, 128. Among the *yahad*, those who transgressed could be expelled from the community, and the covenant had periodically to be renewed; Nitzan, "The Concept," 96–98.

psalm; rather, a person needs simply to be purified by God.<sup>526</sup> In the final blessing, the transgression that violates the covenant is atoned for by repentance and inner restoration by God and his holy spirit.<sup>527</sup> The final blessing is a blending of Deuteronomistic and priestly ideas about the divine–human relationship, typical also in other sectarian writings from Qumran.<sup>528</sup> On the one hand, the relationship between God and humans is understood as a covenantal relationship in which individuals are obligated to keep God’s commandments. On the other hand, the holiness of individuals needs to be maintained. The priestly view on the divine–human relationship thus stresses eternity over discontinuity,<sup>529</sup> and knowledge of the two ways is crucial for this divine–human relationship. Because the speaker understands the covenantal relationship in the right context (i.e., as a part of the deterministic two ways), he has purified himself and sworn against abandoning God’s commandments (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–25a). According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24–25, this inner transformation of the speaker is prompted by his knowledge.<sup>530</sup>

### 3.3.2 Inspired Interpretation of Earlier Traditions

The second section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a) consists of a two ways teaching produced by interpreting earlier traditions, the identifications of which have been made by Julie Hughes. While I disagree with Hughes in some minor details,<sup>531</sup> I accept her overall analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a that the two ways teaching draws inspiration from Jeremiah 1:5; 10:23; 12:3, Zechariah 12:1, Job 12:9–10, Isaiah 65:2, and Deuteronomy 28:46 (cf. Table 10, below). As the two ways teaching begins with a reference to God granting understanding to the speaker (cf. 3.3.1, above), I argue that the interpretation of earlier traditions is to be considered itself divinely inspired. The similarities and

<sup>526</sup> Miryam T. Brand, *Evil within and without: The Source of Sin and Its Nature as Portrayed in Second Temple Literature*, JAJSup 9 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 61–62.

<sup>527</sup> The granting of revealed knowledge and a new heart, as well that of the law and the holy spirit, are discussed also in the Barkhi Nafshi hymns (e.g., 4Q436 1 I). I thank Mika S. Pajunen for pointing out the similarities between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 and the Barkhi Nafshi hymns.

<sup>528</sup> Davies, “The Torah,” 24–41.

<sup>529</sup> Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 302–6.

<sup>530</sup> Berg also notes how knowledge facilitates one to keep the covenant with God in the Thanksgiving Psalms; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies,” 192–96. On 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8, cf. Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 304.

<sup>531</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 71–82. Hughes discusses all possible allusions in detail. I agree with Hughes with regard to Jer 10:23, 12:3; Zech 12:1; Job 12:10; Deut 28:46. I have included in Table 10 also Jer 1:5, which I argue influenced the phrasing of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:30 together with Jer 12:3. I have included Isa 65:2, because the root חָלַךְ is used in this verse in a similar way as it is in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:31. On the other hand, I find the lexical parallels with Jer 10:12 and Isa 63:15 to be too vague. Furthermore, even though Jer 18:1–12 and Isa 45:9–19 use a potter metaphor, it is difficult to demonstrate that these particular passages are interpreted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a. Because of both the lexical parallels and the thematic similarities (creation and covenantal obedience), Hughes suggests that Jeremiah 10–12 as a whole was as a source of inspiration for the author of the two ways teaching. On the lexical parallels with the Book of Jeremiah, my view aligns with that presented in Lange, “The Textual,” 258.

differences between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 and their relation to other roughly contemporary compositions are discussed in the following subchapter (3.4).

The meditation upon the two ways is an elaboration of the statement posed at the beginning of the second stanza (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25–26): “And as for me, I know, by the understanding that comes from you, that it is not through the power of flesh [that] an individual [may perfect] his way, nor is a person able to direct his steps.” The author was inspired by Jeremiah 10:23, as shown by the lexical parallels.<sup>532</sup> In Jeremiah 10, the inability to direct one’s own steps refers to the inevitability of the exile. In the context of the two ways teaching, this inability can be interpreted as part of the predetermination regarding everyone’s mode of conduct.<sup>533</sup> In both Jeremiah 10 and in the two ways teaching, God is portrayed as the creator. In the two ways teaching, God’s role as creator in particular demonstrates that dualism was already predetermined at the time of creation. In stanza 2A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–27a), the way in which creation is depicted as a formation of the human spirit resembles that in Zechariah 12:1 and Job 12:9–10. In stanzas 2B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:27b–30a) and 2C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:30b–34a), obedience to the covenant creates the dividing line between the righteous and the wicked. In stanza 2C, the fate of the wicked may have been inspired by Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Deuteronomy. The pleas, curses, and accusations known in earlier tradition change to descriptions of predetermined punishment for the wicked in the two ways teaching. In Jeremiah 12:3, the prophet begs for God to reserve the wicked for the day of slaughter. In the two ways teaching, Jeremiah’s plea is interpreted as a description of the predetermined fate of the wicked (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:30). In Isaiah 65:2, God accuses his people of not walking on a way that is good, but in the two ways teaching, only the wicked behave in this way (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:31). Because they despise God’s covenant (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:31), the wicked inflict upon themselves the covenantal curses, so that they become a sign and portent as in Deuteronomy 28:46.<sup>534</sup>

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<sup>532</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 71–72. Cf. the use of Jer 10:23 in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:3; 1QS 11:10; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 88–89. Hughes refers to column 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15, but the line she discusses can in fact be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16. Newsom also notes the allusion to Jer 10:23, suggesting that the verb אָדַעָה (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:26) marks the beginning of a sectarian interpretation of Jer 10:23. In her view, the expressions “every spirit” (כּוֹל רוּחַ) and “you determined before you created it” (הַכִּינוּתָה בְּטֶרֶם בְּרִאתוֹ) are element of a common sectarian language used to express belief in predetermination; Newsom, *The Self*, 212.

<sup>533</sup> Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 91–92.

<sup>534</sup> Note that Jer 11:3–5 also refers to the covenantal curses; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 74–82.



Table 10. Inspired Interpretation of Earlier Traditions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:25b–35a (Similarities Highlighted)<sup>535</sup>

| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 7:25–26   | Jeremiah 10:23  |
|--|---|
| <p>ואני ידעתי בבינתך כי לא ביד בשר [יוכל להתם<br/> אדם 26 דרכו ולא יוכל אנוש להכין צעדו]<sup>536</sup><br/> And as for me, I know, by the understanding<br/> that comes from you,<br/> that it is not through the power of flesh [that]<br/> an individual [may perfect] 26. his way,<br/> nor is a person able to direct his steps.</p> | <p>ידעתי יהוה כי לא לאדם דרכו לא לאיש הלך והכין<br/> את צעדו<br/> I know, O Lord, that the way of human beings<br/> is not in their control, that mortals as they<br/> walk cannot direct their steps.</p>  |
| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 7:26–27   | Zechariah 12:1  |
| <p>ואדעה כי בידך יצר כול רוח<br/> [וכול פעול] תו 27 הכינותה בטרם בראתו<br/> And I know that in your hand is the inclination<br/> of every spirit,<br/> [and all] its [activi]ty 27. you determined<br/> before you created it.</p>   | <p>משא דבר יהוה על ישראל נאם יהוה נטה שמים ויסד<br/> ארץ ויצר רוח אדם בקרבו<br/> An Oracle. The word of the Lord concerning<br/> Israel: Thus says the Lord, who stretched out<br/> the heavens and founded the earth and<br/> formed the human spirit within.<br/> Job 12:9–10<sup>537</sup><br/> מי לא ידע בכל אלה כי יד יהוה עשתה זאת:<br/> אשר בידו נפש כל חיי ארץ כל בשר איש<br/> Who among all these does not know that the<br/> hand of the Lord has done this? In his hand is<br/> the life of every living thing and the breath of<br/> every human being.</p> |

<sup>535</sup> Cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 71–80. On the lexical parallels with Jer, cf. also Lange, “The Textual,” 258.

<sup>536</sup> Many reconstructions here that are based on Jer 10:23 are too long. Cf., e.g., Newsom (*The Self*, 210), who reconstructs אדם [לא איש ולא ל], and Hughes (*Scriptural Allusions*, 65), who reads אדם [לא איש ולא ל]. In fact, there is only room in the lacuna for about 10 letters; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 103.

<sup>537</sup> Job 12:10 includes the expression “every living being” (כול חי), which also appears in stanza 2D (1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:35); Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 74.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:30<sup>538</sup></b>   | <b>Jeremiah 1:5</b>   |
| <p>ורשעים בראתה ל[י] צֶרְ חרונכה<br/>ומרחם הקדשתם ליום הרגה</p> <p>But the wicked you created for the [pur]pose of your wrath,<br/>and from the womb you dedicated them for the day of slaughter.</p> | <p>בְּטֶרֶם אֶצְוֶךָ * בְּטֶלְ יִדְעֹתִיךָ וּבְטֶרֶם תֵּצֵא מִרְחֶם<br/>הַקֹּדֶשׁתִּיךָ נָבִיא לְגוֹיִם נִתְּתִיךָ</p> <p>Before I formed you in the womb I knew you,<br/>and before you were born (from the womb) I consecrated you;<br/>I appointed you a prophet to the nations.</p>                     |
|   | <b>Jeremiah 12:3</b>  |
|   | <p>וְאַתָּה יְהוָה יִדְעֹתָנִי תִרְאֵנִי וּבַחֲנֹנֶת לִבִּי אֶתְּךָ הִתְקַם<br/>כְּצֹאן לְטִבְחָהּ וְהַקְדַּשְׁם לְיוֹם הַרְגָּה</p> <p>But you, O Lord, know me; You see me and test me—my heart is with you. Pull them out like sheep for the slaughter, and set them apart for the day of slaughter.</p> |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:31</b>   | <b>Isaiah 65:2</b>  |
| <p>כי הלכו בדרך לא טוב</p> <p>For they walk in the way that is not good</p>   | <p>פָּרַשְׁתִּי יָדַי כָּל־הַיּוֹם אֶל־עַם סוֹרֵר הַהֹלְכִים הַדֶּרֶךְ לֹא־טוֹב<br/>אַחַר מַחְשַׁבְתֵּיהֶם</p> <p>I held out my hands all day long to a rebellious people, who walk in a way that is not good,<br/>following their own devices</p>  |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:33</b>   | <b>Deuteronomy 28:46</b>  |
| <p>ולהיות לאות וּמוֹפֵת [ת דורות] עולם</p> <p>and to be a sign and a por[tent for] everlasting [generations]</p>  | <p>וְהָיוּ בְךָ לְאוֹת וּלְמוֹפֵת וּבְזִרְעֶךָ עַד־עוֹלָם</p> <p>They shall be among you and your descendants as a sign and a portent for ever.</p>   |

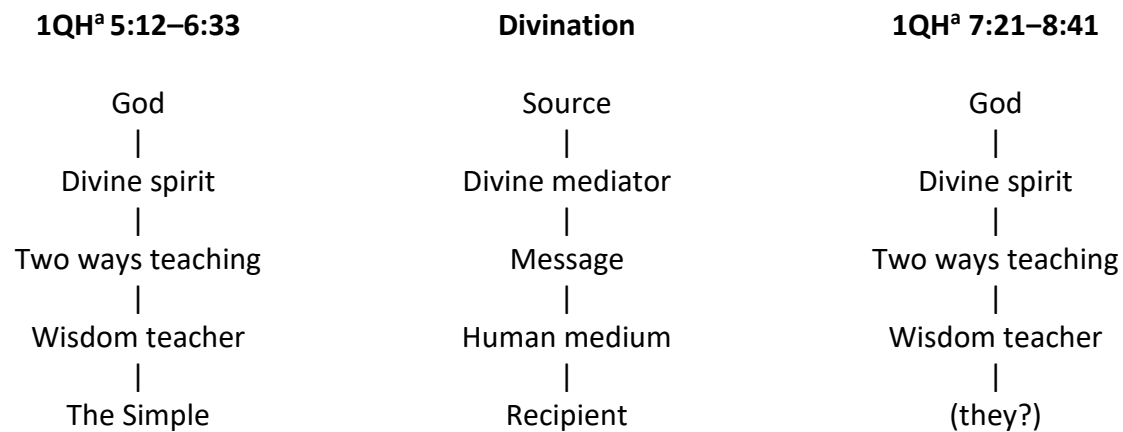
### 3.4 Comparative Perspectives

How the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 resembles how the transmission process is described in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 (cf. 2.2.2, above). Namely, the knowledge of the speaker originates from God. Unlike other Thanksgiving Psalms, all three למשכיל psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42) portray God’s spirit as a divine mediator. The speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 does not refer to himself as a wisdom teacher (משכיל) in the body of the psalm, but the למשכיל heading most likely indicates that the speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 is indeed a wisdom teacher. Especially in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, the wisdom teacher clearly presents himself as a mediator of divine knowledge, one who acts as a teacher in his mediation of the divine mysteries to his pupils, who are called “the simple.” The divine message is referred to either as “mysteries” or “understanding,” but, in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41,

<sup>538</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:28; Lange, “The Textual,” 258.

further conclusions can be made concerning the content of the divine message, as both psalms recount a teaching concerning the two ways after referring to divinely revealed knowledge. The two ways are referred to also in the third *למשכיל* psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42), but it remains unclear whether this knowledge is presented as divinely revealed.

*Table 11.* Transmission of Divine knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41



In both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, how the transmission of divine knowledge is understood could be described as sapiential divination, since divine wisdom plays such a prominent role in the transmission process. However, the implicit interpretation of earlier traditions also plays a substantial role in formulating the two ways teaching in both psalms. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, such interpretation is implicit, as the sources are not marked separately from their interpretation. Nonetheless, the function of interpretation is similar to that in *pesharim*, for example, where divine mysteries are unfolded by explicit interpretation of older traditions.<sup>539</sup> Previous studies on the Thanksgiving Psalms demonstrate that many Thanksgiving Psalms are allusive in nature. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, however, unlike in some other Thanksgiving Psalms, interpretation of earlier traditions is not merely a poetic device because these older traditions are used to formulate supposedly divine knowledge.<sup>540</sup>

<sup>539</sup> Concerning implicit and explicit inspired interpretation, cf. 1.3.1, above.

<sup>540</sup> This purpose does not exclude other purposes, such as that of identity construction. The two ways teaching probably also shaped sectarian identities and communities by depicting the righteous and wicked ways of life. Cf. Newsom, *The Self*, 209–16. Brooke suggests that the speaker intends to represent himself as a prophet who was chosen before birth, like Jeremiah; Brooke, “Prophetic Interpretation,” 244.

In both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, various earlier traditions are thus brought into conversation with one another, typical for the Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>541</sup> As Julie A. Hughes has argued, the two ways teaching of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 is an interpretation of Jeremiah 10:23 that is brought into conversation with other passages—namely, Jeremiah 1:5; 12:3, Deuteronomy 28:46, Isaiah 65:2, Zechariah 12:1, and Job 12:9–10.<sup>542</sup> On the other hand, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 makes use of the two ways teaching found in Instruction (4Q417 1 i), as has, for example, been argued by Eibert Tigchelaar.<sup>543</sup> Furthermore, where the two ways teaching of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 discusses the creation, lexical parallels are drawn with the first creation account of Genesis, Isaiah 34:1, Psalm 135:6, and 11Q5 26:12 (Hymn to the Creator). Scholars have mostly been interested in either the use of either canonical or non-canonical compositions such as Instruction in the Thanksgiving Psalms, but this analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 has demonstrated the limitations of such approaches. The division into canonical and non-canonical compositions, something that did not exist yet in the late Second Temple period, creates unnecessary and deceptive boundaries between traditions that would have been known to and utilized by the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33.

The two ways teachings found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 further complement one another in that the former teaching (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33) recounts the creation of the entire cosmos, while the latter teaching (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41) focuses on the creation and fate of human beings. They differ from one another, however, in that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 ties the two ways more closely together with the concept of covenant than 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 does.<sup>544</sup> This difference arise from or is reflected in the older traditions the psalmists choose to interpret: Instruction (4Q417 1 i) likewise recounts the cosmic divine plan, and the covenant is not a central concept there. Furthermore, the creation imagery drawn from Genesis 1, Isaiah 34, Psalm 135, and the Hymn to the Creator relates to the creation of the world, not to the creation of human beings. Jeremiah 10:23, instead, refers to the steps taken by human beings, and covenantal obedience is of paramount importance in Jeremiah 10–12. Likewise, the creation of human beings is discussed in Jeremiah 1:5, Zechariah 12:1, and Job 12:9–10.

The image of the wisdom teacher in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 can be compared to that of the wisdom teacher in the Community Rule manuscript 1QS, where teaching of the two

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<sup>541</sup> Tanzer, “Biblical Interpretation,” 265.

<sup>542</sup> Cf. 3.3.2, above; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 71–80.

<sup>543</sup> Cf. 3.2.2, above; Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 203–7.

<sup>544</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, the word “covenant” appears only in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:33.

ways is counted among the expertise of a wisdom teacher. The Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26) is attributed to a wisdom teacher with the *למשכיל* heading. As discussed in subsection 3.2.1, both the beginning of the Treatise of the Two Spirits and the beginning of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 include the words *למשכיל* and *להבין*, indicating that the subsequent passage is to be considered a lesson taught by the wisdom teacher. The Treatise of the Two Spirits further resembles 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 in that the two ways account draws on interpretations of earlier traditions. Like 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, the Treatise of the Two Spirits specifically makes use of the two ways teaching found in Instruction (in 4Q417 1 i). Previously, Tigchelaar has argued that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 was influenced by both Instruction and the Treatise of the Two Spirits,<sup>545</sup> even though all the lexical parallels can be explained through the influence of Instruction. Furthermore, if 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5 would have been influenced by the Treatise of the Two Spirits, one would need to explain why the Thanksgiving Psalm does not refer to two angels or the spirits that battle to rule human beings. The difference cannot be explained, for example, through the different editorial layers of the Treatise of the Two Spirits, as the spirits are mentioned in the same sections in which there are lexical parallels with the Instruction. Therefore, I have argued that the two ways teaching found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 is not dependent on the Treatise of the Two Spirits but that both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and the Treatise of the Two Spirits were influenced by the two ways account found in Instruction. Another difference between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and the Treatise of the Two Spirits is that the Treatise of the Two Spirits is not presented as divinely revealed knowledge. This is striking, since, in Instruction, the two-ways teaching is presented as a divine mystery where, in 1QS, the wisdom teacher is presented as a mediator of divine knowledge.<sup>546</sup>

When the content of the two ways teachings found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 are compared to that in the Treatise of the Two Spirits, similarities and differences both emerge. All three two ways teachings depict a deterministic worldview that notwithstanding does not exclude free will. Especially in the Treatise of the Two Spirits and in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41, the two ways and God's covenant are related to another in a similar way: the covenant is not related to Israel's past but to the division of humanity such that each individual walks two divergent paths. Thus, the dividing line runs not between Israel and other nations but between the righteous and wicked, the paths of whom will lead to either eschatological punishments or rewards. These two ways are established

<sup>545</sup> Cf. 3.2.2, above; Tigchelaar, *To Increase*, 194–203; 206–7.

<sup>546</sup> Concerning the image of the wisdom teacher, cf. 1.3.3, above.

already before creation, though the theme of creation is elaborated further in the Thanksgiving Psalms than in the Treatise of the Two Spirits. In all three teachings, the two ways are depicted as underlying principles of the world. According to the definition of dualism by Ugo Bianchi, this means that the two ways teachings express dualism as such, not merely duality or polarity.<sup>547</sup> Furthermore, Jörg Frey argues that the Treatise of the Two Spirits brings together cosmic, ethical, and psychological dualism. In the Thanksgiving Psalms, however, these three types of dualisms do not appear together. Both Thanksgiving Psalms rather express a combination of cosmic and ethical dualism: the cosmos (esp. in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33) and humanity (esp. in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41) are divided even before their creation into different paths. One path is that of truth, wisdom, and righteousness while the other is that of evil, folly, and wickedness. The two ways teachings found in the Thanksgiving Psalms thus do not describe the kind of psychological dualism that exists in the Treatise of the Two Spirits, where two spirits are said to compete within the heart of each man. However, outside the two ways teachings, both Thanksgiving Psalms refer to the lots and/or inheritance of human beings, portraying an incremental difference between humans rather than an absolute dichotomy of the righteous and the wicked. The lots of humankind are likewise discussed in the Treatise of the Two Spirits (in 1QS 4:26), and there are even lexical parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:22–23 and 1QS 4:26. Therefore, although 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 does not describe two competing spirits, the discussion of the lots of human beings brings the anthropology of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 even closer to that of the Treatise of the Two Spirits.

The different types of polarity and opposition in life are described in various early Jewish compositions in two different ways. The early Jewish two ways accounts introduced in section 3.1 demonstrate that especially the Qumran corpus includes many previously unknown compositions that show that determinism, creation, eschatology, covenant, and/or divinely revealed knowledge—all central to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41—are discussed already in many older or roughly contemporary two ways passages. While torah piety and covenantal obedience are topics that cannot be found yet in Proverbs 1–8, most of the younger two ways accounts testified to how right and wrong behavior were tied together with torah piety and covenantal obedience. In addition, the eschatological overtones of these connections increased over time, the two ways being described as leading into either eternal rewards or punishments in several younger two ways accounts. The growing importance of torah, covenant, and eschatology is related to wider

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<sup>547</sup> Cf. 3.1, above.

developments in Jewish thought and practices.<sup>548</sup> The two ways teachings are presented as divinely revealed knowledge especially in the Epistle of Enoch and Instruction. Instruction and the Treatise of the Two Spirits include deterministic two ways teachings like 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41. In addition to Instruction and the Treatise of the Two Spirits, Sirach 33:7–15 is an important source for testifying to how polarity in life was understood to be a feature that God established already in creation.

Why is the two-ways teaching recounted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41? Although many Thanksgiving Psalms refer to the reception of divinely revealed knowledge, the content of this knowledge is rarely recounted in the psalms. In fact, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 are among the few Thanksgiving Psalms that recount the supposedly divine knowledge—i.e., the teaching of the two ways.<sup>549</sup> Below, I will examine 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 as spiritual exercises. As discussed in section 1.4., Carol Newsom has offered a detailed analysis on how the Thanksgiving Psalms may have influenced the members of the Qumran movement. My own analysis focuses instead on the speaker—namely, how 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 function as spiritual exercises for the wisdom teacher. By spiritual exercises, I mean the practices that constituted the life of the sage.<sup>550</sup> For the current task, of interest are especially practices that relate to the transmission of divine knowledge—for instance, obtaining and teaching supposedly divine knowledge.

Being a recipient of divine knowledge may have been an objective for all members of the Qumran movement, as Newsom has argued (cf. 1.4; 2.2.2, above). In this respect, the wisdom teacher represents the very ideals of the sectarian movement. It seems unlikely, however, that the distinct roles of a wisdom teacher described in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 (viz., mediator of divine knowledge, intercessory prayer, and community leader) were supposed to be fulfilled by the average member of the Qumran movement. Rather, these roles were reserved for wisdom teachers. Notably, how the wisdom teacher portrays his actions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 bears significant similarities with the description of the sage in Sirach 39:1–8:

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<sup>548</sup> For an introduction to the developments of Judaism in the Second Temple period, cf. Jan Christian Gertz et al., *T&T Clark Handbook of the Old Testament: An Introduction to the Literature, Religion and History of the Old Testament*, trans. Jennifer Adams-Maßmann et al. (London: T&T Clark, 2012), 178–234, esp. 215, 233–34.

<sup>549</sup> In addition to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, cf. the analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 in 4.2, below.

<sup>550</sup> Cf. 1.4, above; Elisa Uusimäki, “Spiritual Formation in Hellenistic Jewish Wisdom Teaching,” in *Tracing Sapiential Traditions in Ancient Judaism*, ed. H. Najman et al.; SupJSJ 174 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 61–64.

1. How different the one who devotes himself to the study of the law of the Most High! He seeks out the wisdom of all the ancients, and is concerned with prophecies; 2. he preserves the sayings of the famous and penetrates to the subtleties of parables; 3. he seeks out the hidden meanings of proverbs and is at home with the obscurities of parables. 4. He serves among the great and appears before rulers; he travels in foreign lands and learns what is good and evil in the human lot. 5. He sets his heart to rise early to seek the Lord who made him, and to petition the Most High; he opens his mouth in prayer and ask pardon for his sins. 6. If the great Lord is willing, he will be filled with the spirit of understanding; he will pour forth words of wisdom of his own and give thanks to the Lord in prayer. 7. The Lord will direct his counsel and knowledge, as he meditates on his mysteries. 8. He will show the wisdom of what he has learned, and will glory in the law of the Lord's covenant.

According to Ben Sira, studying, meditation, prayer, and producing wisdom of one's own belong to the life of the sage.<sup>551</sup> I want to draw attention especially to three similarities between Sirach 39:1–8, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41. The first concerns the study of wisdom and prophecies. The inspired interpretations in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 demonstrate that the wisdom teacher had to have studied earlier teachings and prophecies like an ideal sage depicted in Sirach. Content-wise, all three compositions associate wisdom with the law and the covenant, as well as with knowing good and evil as belong to the human lot, though the exact meaning of these concepts was likely to be different for Ben Sira and the wisdom teacher.

Secondly, the wise produce their own teaching with divine assistance. The two ways teachings of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 could be understood as divinely revealed teachings. The didactic intent of the Thanksgiving Psalms has been acknowledged in previous studies<sup>552</sup> but in addition to their didactic function, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 can also be described as having a divinatory function, if the divinely revealed knowledge was transmitted by the wisdom teacher to his students while performing the psalms. In this case, these psalms need not only describe the transmission of divine knowledge by depicting the different elements needed for the transmission of divine knowledge to take place; the psalms themselves could have played a role in the transmission process.

The third remark concerns the connection between prayer, attaining revealed knowledge, and producing one's own teaching. According to Judith Newman, in the Book of Ben Sira, prayer constitutes a dialogue between the sage and God through which revelation can be

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<sup>551</sup> Concerning the different spiritual exercises in the Book of Ben Sira, cf. Elisa Uusimäki, "The Formation of a Sage according to Ben Sira," in *Second Temple Jewish Paideia in Context*, ed. J. M. Zurawski and G. Boccaccini; BZNW 228 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2017), 60–69.

<sup>552</sup> Cf. 1.4; 3.2.1, above.



obtained.<sup>553</sup> Newman writes that “Ben Sira ideally combines *paideia* (Sir 50:27), a cultured well-trained mind, with *sophia*, a state of the soul attained through liturgy.” Sirach 39:5–7 introduces a procedure whereby the sage first pardons his own sins and is only then able to produce his own wisdom and give thanks to God, because he would then have become filled with the spirit of understanding. The meditation of God’s mysteries is also a process directed by God.<sup>554</sup> Notably, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 describe many similar acts to Sirach 39:5–7, including pleading for forgiveness, seeking a spirit of understanding,<sup>555</sup> producing one’s own wisdom, meditating God’s mysteries, and giving thanks to God. Based on 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 alone, one cannot induce the procedure by which one act was necessarily to follow another, but the similarities between these passages at least demonstrate a shared understanding of how divinely revealed knowledge was to be obtained and transmitted. Like Ben Sira, the wisdom teacher presents himself simultaneously as an exemplary teacher and prayer.<sup>556</sup> A sage must attain a suitable spiritual state in addition to studying. To this end, one might ask whether the recitation of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 would have helped the wisdom teachers attain such a spiritual state since it involved praising God and reciting his mysteries. Because he would thereby have become filled with the spirit, the wisdom teacher might then be able to produce wisdom of his own.

Above, I have discussed two ways in which reciting 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 could have served as spiritual exercises for the wisdom teacher: as teachings and as compositions through which a suitable spiritual state for transmitting divine knowledge could be attained. Nevertheless, it is difficult to make any definitive conclusions about the *Sitz im Leben* of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, since the psalms themselves preserve little information about how they were used. Nonetheless, one context that can be known is the scribal one, as these psalms have been preserved to us in written form. Therefore, the transmission of divine knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 can be examined as a form of literary transmission. That is, when scribes studied, memorized, and copied these psalms, they transmitted the supposedly divine knowledge written in them. The length and variety of individual psalms may thus indicate that the current form of the

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<sup>553</sup> Uusimäki also discusses the connection between prayer and wisdom/prophecy in Sirach; cf. Uusimäki, “The Formation,” 65; “Spiritual Formation,” 66–67.

<sup>554</sup> Newman, “Liturgical Imagination,” 333, 338. Newman also discusses how the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice served as compositions that could inspire new teachings; Judith H. Newman, “Priestly Prophets at Qumran: Summoning the Sinai through the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice,” in *The Significance of Sinai: Traditions about Sinai and Divine Revelation in Judaism and Christianity*, ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; TBN 12 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 31, 68–71.

<sup>555</sup> On asking for forgiveness and seeking a spirit of understanding, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24.

<sup>556</sup> On Ben Sira as a model of prayer, cf. Newman, “Liturgical Imagination,” 331–34.

psalms may have been affected by scribal activity. The juxtaposition of the two ways teaching with the discussion of the lots of humankind in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 may be one example of the result of such activity.

## 4. Revealed Knowledge as a Prerequisite for Praising God

In this chapter, I continue to explore the relationship between knowing and praying. Several commentators have noted how the so-called Community Hymns depict knowledge as a precondition to praising God and recounting his deeds.<sup>557</sup> This chapter aims to study this topic further by analyzing four Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4; 15:29–36; 17:38–19:5; 19:6–20:6) in which divinely revealed knowledge is depicted as a prerequisite for praising God. According to these psalms, only those who know God and his deeds can “meditate” (להתבונן) and “recount” (לספר) God’s deeds.<sup>558</sup> Despite this shared theme, how divine knowledge is transmitted varies in these psalms. I argue that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6 do not depict any intermediary between the community and God, while in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, a sage may act as a mediator. Furthermore, my analysis demonstrates that the relationship between knowing and praying is constructed in various ways in these psalms. I begin by analyzing 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5, discussing the repeated references in the psalm to continuous praise and the requirement of knowledge to offer praise. In section 4.2, I analyze how, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, God is praised as the creator, and creation itself is presented as a mystery. Finally, in sections 4.3 and 4.4, I discuss the emphasis on revealed knowledge especially in terms of salvation and joint angelic-human praise in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36 and 19:6–20:6.

### 4.1 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5<sup>559</sup>

#### First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–18:15

##### Stanza 1A (17:38–18:7a)

38 ב[רו] אֲתָהּ אֲדוֹנִי לֹא  
הַגְבַּרְתָּה עֹד אֵין מִסְפָּר  
39 וְלֹהֵל לְשִׁמְכָה בַּהֲפֹלָא מֵאֲדָרָה  
40 לֹא אֵין הַשְׁבַּת לֹא  
41 וְלִפִּי שְׂכָלוֹ יִהְיֶה שִׁמְכָה  
[ ] 18:1–2  
3 ב[מַחְשְׁבֹתֶיךָ נִהְיָה כָּל]

#### First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–18:15

##### Stanza 1A (17:38–18:7a)

38. B[less]ed are yo[u, O Lord ...] / [...] r you  
have increased without number  
39. [...] and to prai]se your name when you act  
exceedi[ng] wondrously  
40. [...] with]out ceasing / [...]  
41. [...] and according to] his insight he will praise[  
your name ...]  
18:1.–2. [...]  
3. [...] by] your plan eve[rything] comes to be,

<sup>557</sup> Newsom, *The Self*, 222; Berg, “Religious Epistemologies,” 196; Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 308.

<sup>558</sup> On “meditating” God’s deeds, see 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:35; 18:4; 19:23 (on how this is done in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:38 and 6:20, cf. ch. 3, above). On “recounting” God’s deeds, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:25, 32, 35; 18:16–17, 22–23; 19:9, 27, 31.

<sup>559</sup> The Hebrew text is given according to Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, and the English translation is given according to Schuller & Newsom, *The Hodayot*. However, I have divided the text into sections, stanzas, and verses myself. Concerning the principles for delimiting sections in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. 1.4, above.

וּבְמִזְמַת לִבְכָּה תִּזְכָּר] [and]  
 וּמִבְלַעְדִּיכָה לֹא] 4 [יעשה] כֹּל  
 וּבְלֹא רְצוֹנָה לֹא יִהְיֶה  
 וְלֹא יִתְבּוֹנֵן כֹּל בְּחֹכְךָ [מתכה]  
 5 וְזִכְרֵךָ לֹא יִבִּיט כֹּל  
 וּמֵה אִפְהוּ אָדָם  
 וְאִדְמָה הוּא  
 חֶ[מר] 6 קוֹרֵץ וְלַעֲפָר תִּשׁוּבָתוֹ  
 כִּי תִשְׁכִּילֵנוּ בְּנִפְלְאוֹת כְּאֵלֶּה  
 וּבִסְדּוֹ אִמְ[תכה] 7 תוֹדִיעֵנוּ

[and] in the intent of your mind it is de[ter]mined.  
 [Apart from you no]thing 4. [is done,]  
 and without your will nothing comes to pass.  
 No one can contemplate [your] wis[dom],  
 5. and on your [secret] mysteries no one can gaze.  
 What, then, is a mortal being  
 — he is only dirt,  
 6. pinched-off c[lay], whose return is to dust—  
 that you have given him insight into wonders such as  
 these  
 and that the secret counsel of [your] tru[th] 7. you  
 have made known to him?

Stanza 1B (18:7a–18:15)

Stanza 1B (18:7a–18:15)

וְאֵנִי עֹפֶר וְאֶפֶר  
 מֵה אֲזוּם בְּלֹא חִפְצָתָה  
 וּמֵה אֲתַחֲשֵׁב 8 בְּאֵין רְצוֹנָה  
 מֵה אֲתַהַזֵּק בְּלֹא הַעֲמַדְתִּי  
 וְאֵיכָה אֲכַשִּׁילִי<sup>560</sup> בְּלֹא יִצְרָתָה 9 לִי  
 וּמֵה אֲדַבֵּר בְּלֹא פִתְחַתִּי פִי  
 וְאֵיכָה אֲשִׁיב בְּלֹא הִשְׁכַּלְתִּי  
 10 הִנֵּה אַתָּה שֶׁר אֱלֹהִים וּמֶלֶךְ נִכְבָּדִים  
 וְאֲדוֹן לְכֹל רוּחַ וּמוֹשֵׁל הַכֹּל מַעֲשֵׂה  
 11 וּמִבְלַעְדִּיכָה לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה כֹל  
 וְלֹא יוֹדַע בְּלֹא רְצוֹנָה  
 וְאֵין זֹלַתְךָ  
 12 וְאֵין עִמָּכָה בְּכֹחַ  
 וְאֵין לְנֶגְדְּךָ כְּבוֹדָה  
 וְלִגְבוּרַתְךָ אֵין מַחִיר  
 וּמִי 13 בְּכֹל מַעֲשֵׂי פִלְאָה הַגְּדוֹלִים יַעֲצוֹר כֹּחַ  
 לְהִתְיַצֵּב לִפְנֵי כְבוֹדָה  
 14 וּמֵה אִפְהוּא שְׁבַלְעָפְרוֹ  
 כִּי יַעֲצוֹר כֹּחַ רַק לְכְבוֹדָה עֲשִׂיתָה כֹּל אֱלֹהִים  
 15 *vacat*

As for me, dust and ashes,  
 what can I devise unless you desire it,  
 and what can I plan for myself 8. without your will?  
 How can I take courage unless you cause me to  
 stand firm?  
 And how can I have insight unless you have formed  
 it 9. for me?  
 What can I say unless you open my mouth?  
 And how shall I answer unless you give me insight?  
 10. Behold, you are the prince of gods,  
 the king of the glorious ones,  
 lord of every spirit,  
 and ruler of every creature.  
 11. Apart from you nothing is done;  
 nothing is known without your will;  
 and except for you, there is nothing.  
 12. There is none beside you in strength,  
 none comparable to your glory,  
 and for your strength there is no price.  
 Who 13. among all your wondrous great creatures  
 can retain the strength to stand before your glory?  
 14. And what, then, is he who returns to his dust  
 that he could summon such strength?  
 For your glory alone you have done all these things.  
 15. *vacat*

<sup>560</sup> This word is a scribal error for אשכיל; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 237.

**Second Section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:16–19:5**  
Stanza 2A (18:16–21)

16 ברוך אתה אדוני  
אל הרחמים ו[רבה] חסד  
כי הודעתני אלה  
לספֹר 17 נפלאותכה  
ולא להם יומם ולילה[ ] אֶלְךָ כֹּל הַחַיִּל  
וּבְרָבָה[ ] 18 לחסדכה הגדול טובכה  
ורו[ב] רחמיכה אשתעשעה בְּסִיחֹתֶיכָה  
19 כי נשענתי באמתכה ו[ ] כִּהְיוֹנִי  
וְלֹא בְּלֹא אֵין מִשְׁפָּט 20 מצבֹכָה  
ובלא יִדְכָּה[ ] אין משפט  
ובלוא מגערתכה אין מכשׁוֹל  
וְאֵין 21 נגע בלוא ידעתה  
ולא יעשה כול בלא רצו[נכה] *vacat*

Stanza 2B (18:22–19:5)

22 ואני לפי דעתי באמת[כה] אומרה בחסדכה  
ובהביטי בכבודכה אספרה 23 נפלאותיכה  
ובהביני בְּסִיחֹתֶיכָה אֶחָד פִּלְאָכָה אוֹחִיל לְהִמְנוֹן  
רחמיכה  
ולסליחותיכה 24 אקוה  
כי אתה יצרתה רִוְחַ עֲבֹדָה  
וכרצ[וֹנָה] הכינותני  
ולא נתתה 25 משעני על בצע  
ובהוֹן[ ] חמס  
לא לְבִי  
ויצר בשר לא שמתה לי מעוז  
26 חיל גבורים על רוב עדִנִּים  
וישתעשעו ב[רוב] דגן תירוש ויצהר

**Second Section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:16–19:5**  
Stanza 2A (18:16–21)

16. Blessed are you, O Lord,  
God of compassion and [abundant] kindness,  
for you have made known to me these things  
so that (I may) recount 17. your wonders  
and not keep silent by day or night [...] '  
to you belongs all the strength ° b ° rb [...]°°  
18. for your kindness in your great goodness  
and the abun[dance of your compassion ...]/ take  
delight in [your] for[giveness],  
19. for I have depended upon your truth.  
[And ...]°° your [and] there is no °°°°[... without]  
20. your *mš b*°,  
and without you[r] hand [there is no judgment,  
and without ]your rebuke there is no stumbling,  
[and no] 21. affliction without your knowing,  
and n[othing is done without] your [wil]l *vacat*

Stanza 2B (18:22–19:5)

22. And as for me, according to my knowledge of  
[your] truth [I will sing of your kindness]  
and when I gaze upon your glory,  
I recount 23. your wonders,  
and when I understand [your wondrous] sec[ret  
counsel,  
I will wait expectantly] for your [ov]erflowing  
compassion.  
For your forgiveness 24. I wait hopefully,  
for you yourself have formed the spi[rit of your  
servant,  
and according to] your [wil]l you have determined  
me.  
You have not put 25. my support upon unjust gain  
nor in wealth [acquired by violence,  
nor ...] my [hea]rt,  
and a vessel of flesh you have not set up as my  
refuge.  
26. The strength of the mighty rests upon an  
abundance of luxuries,  
[and they delight in] abundance of grain, wine, and  
oil.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 27 ויתרוממו בִּמְקַנָּה וקנין<br>[ויפרחו כעץ ר] ענן על פלגי מים<br>לשת עלה 28 ולהרבות ענף<br>כי בחרְתָּהּ [בם מכול בני אדם<br>ולהדשן כול מארץ  | 27. They pride themselves on property and<br>acquisitions,<br>[and they sprout like] a [fl]ourishing [tree] beside<br>channels of water,<br>putting forth foliage 28. and producing abundant<br>branches.  |
| 29 ולבני אמתכה נתתה שכל־ 000 [ ] תִּתְּ עַד<br>ולפי דעתם יכבדו 30 איש מרעהו<br>וכן לבן אדם־ 0 [בא] יש<br>הרבייתה נחלְתָּ 31 בדעת אמתכה<br>ולפי דעתו יִבֹּ 0 [ ]  | Truly, you have chosen[ them from all human]kind<br>so that all might fatten themselves from the land.<br>29. But to the children of your truth you have given<br>insight 000[...].t everlasting,<br>and according to their knowledge they are honored,<br>30. one more than the other.  |
| כי נִפְשׁ עבדכה תעבה הִזֵּן 32 ובצע<br>וברום עדנים לא 00000<br>כִּי שש לבי בבריתכה<br>ואמתכה 33 תשעשע נפשי<br>ואפרחה כְּשׁוֹשְׁנָה<br>ולבי נפתח למקור עולם<br>34 ומשענתי במעוז מרום<br>00000 עמל<br>ויבול כנץ לפני רִוְחִי<br>35 ויתהולל לבי בחלחלה ומותני ברעִדָּה<br>ונהמתי עד תהום תבוא<br>36 ובחדרי שאול תחפש יחד<br>ואפחדה בשומעי משפטיכה עם גבורי 37 כוח<br>ורִיבְכָה עם צבא קדושיכִי בְשִׁמְיָם<br>וִי [ ] שֶׁה<br>38 ומשפט בְּכֹל מַעֲשִׂיכָה<br>וצדק יִ00 [ ] ל<br>39 [ ] 00000 [ ]<br>40 [ ] תִּי<br>41 [ ] עֹנִי<br>[ ] 19:1-3<br>4 בפחד מִזְהוּבִי [ ] עמל מעיני<br>ויגון 0 [ ] מִגְּזוֹיֹתַי<br>וִבִּ0000 [ ]<br>5 בהגי לבי vacat [ ] vacat | And thus for the mortal being 0[... in a m]an you<br>have made his inheritance great 31. through the<br>knowledge of your truth.<br>According to his knowledge y°b°[...<br>f]or the soul of your servant abhors wealth 32. and<br>unjust gain<br>and does not 00000 in the abundance of luxuries.<br>Truly, my heart rejoices in your covenant,<br>and your truth 33. delights my soul.<br>I bloom like a lily,<br>and my heart is opened to the eternal fount.<br>34. My support is in the stronghold on high,<br>and 0000 000 000 trouble.<br>And as a flower withers before the wind,<br>35. so my heart reels in anguish and my loins in<br>trembling.<br>My groaning reaches to the deep<br>36. and searches thoroughly through the chambers<br>of Sheol.<br>And I tremble when I hear of your judgments upon<br>the strong warriors<br>37. and your case against the host of your holy ones<br>in the heavens and [...]šh<br>38. and the judgment upon all of your creatures,<br>and righteousness y°°[...]/<br>39. [...]00000[...]<br>40. [...]°ty<br>41. [...]°wny<br>19:1.-3. [...]<br>4. in terror, disaster [...]° trouble from my eyes<br>and grief 0[... from my body and b°°°n 000[...]<br>5. in the meditation of my heart. vacat [...] vacat |

#### 4.1.1 Structure and Content

According to Stegemann and Schuller, the psalm that begins in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38 with the poorly preserved opening rubric ב[רו]ך אֱתָהּ אֲדוֹנִי continues until 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:5. If the reconstruction in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38 is correct, the psalm preserves two identical ברוך אתה אדוני headings. In the case of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38, the heading begins a new psalm after a blank line in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:37. The second ברוך אתה rubric found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:16 appears likewise after a blank line (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:15); in this case, however, Stegemann and Schuller argue that the rubric does not begin a new psalm but only a subsection within the psalm. This is because the pronoun אֵלָה in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:16 refers to what has been stated in the previous section.<sup>561</sup> Following this observation, I suggested that the psalm should be divided into two sections, both of which begin with the heading ברוך אתה אדוני, the two sections being separated by a blank line (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:15). The first section can be further divided into stanzas 1A and 1B, stanza 1B beginning with וְאֲנִי. Likewise, the second section can be further divided into two stanzas 2A and 2B, the two stanzas being separated by a blank space and the word וְאֲנִי.<sup>562</sup> Stanza 2B is notably long compared to the other stanza. Thus, it is possible that there would have been a blank space or an independent pronoun somewhere in the poorly preserved end of column 18 that would have indicated stanza division.

##### First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–18:15

|                         |                             |   |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Stanza 1A (17:38–18:7a) | Praise according to insight | Begins with ב[רו]ך אֱתָהּ אֲדוֹנִי                |
| Stanza 1B (18:7a–18:15) | Nothing is done without God | Begins with וְאֲנִי<br>and ends with <i>vacat</i> |

##### Second Section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:16–19:5

|                        |                          |  |
|------------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Stanza 2A (18:16–21)   | Recounting God's wonders | Begins with ברוך אתה<br>and ends with <i>vacat</i> |
| Stanza 2B (18:22–19:5) | God is my support        | Begins with וְאֲנִי<br>and ends with <i>vacat</i>  |

<sup>561</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 228, 236, 242. The word אֵלָה appears three times in col. 18 (ll. 6, 14, 16) referring to God's deeds and the content of divine knowledge.

<sup>562</sup> There are several longer word spaces in col. 18, but it is likely that they do not indicate stanza division, rather used to even out line length, for which see 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:5, 9, 12, 24; cf. the discussion on 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 in sec. 4.2, below.

The four stanzas share the theme of divine insight as enabling one to meditate God's wonders and praise God. Certain keywords feature repeatedly: the root שכל appears altogether five times, of which four occur in the first section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:41; 18:6, 8, 9, 29); the root פלא can also be found five times (1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:39; 18:6, 13, 17, 23). In addition, אמת is used frequently, altogether six times (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:6, 19, 22, 29, 31, 32).<sup>563</sup>

In stanza 1A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–18:7a), the speaker portrays God as the source of divine knowledge, using vocabulary to depict the revelation of divine knowledge similar to that used in the other sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms. The first readable lines of column 18 allude to belief in God's determination, also discussed in relation to the revelation of divine knowledge. Without God's will, no one can contemplate his wisdom or gaze his mysteries (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:3–5). The recipient of such divine knowledge is depicted at the end of stanza 1A as a "mortal" (אדם). The speaker thus wonders how God might have given insight into his wonders (תשכילנו בנפלאות) to a mortal and made known to him the secret counsel of his truth (בסוד אמן [תכה] תודיענו), despite his being made merely of dirt and clay (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:5–7). Stanza 1B also expresses belief in God's determination and the human inability to plan and act without God's will.<sup>564</sup> The stanza begins with *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*, a series of rhetorical questions, according to which gaining insight is determined to be impossible without God (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:8–9, 11). Both stanzas 1A and 1B explain the purpose of gaining divine knowledge: if the partial reconstructions are correct, praising God is referred to twice in stanza 1A: in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:39, God's name is praised when he acts wondrously; in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:41, the speaker states that one praises God according to his insight. According to stanza 1B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:7a–18:15), insight is said to be needed to answer to God (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:9), though the stanza does not further report in which situations one must answer to God. However, God's judgment is referred to at the end of stanza 1B. Thus, this answering to God may be related to God's judgment, as in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:28; 20:[23], 33–34.

Recounting God's wonders (ספר נפלאות) is referred to twice in the second section, at the beginning of both stanza 2A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:16–21) and stanza 2B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:22–19:5). At the beginning of stanza 2A, knowing is described as a prerequisite for praising God. The speaker blesses God for making "these things" known to him so that he can recount God's wonders, emphasizing that he

<sup>563</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 329, 384–85, 396.

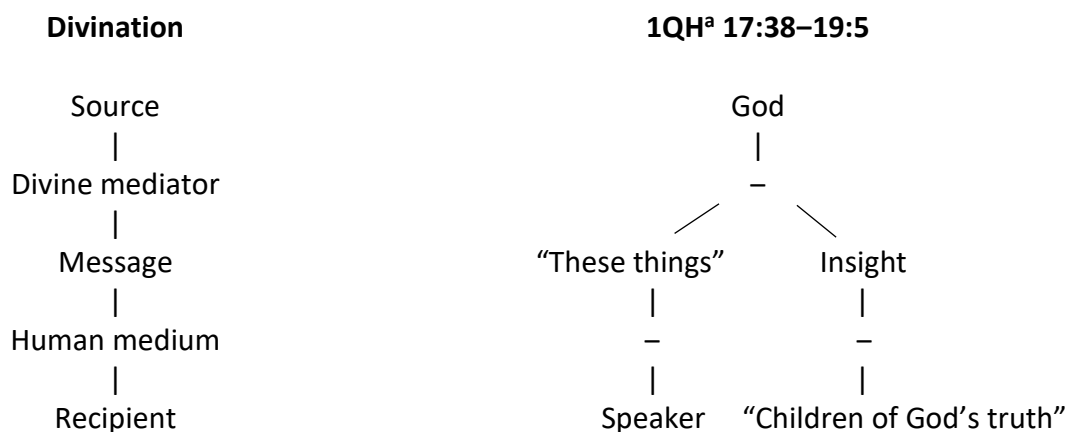
<sup>564</sup> On the rhetorical force of this passage, cf. Newsom, *The Self*, 229–32.



should continually recount them. Likewise, according to stanza 2B, knowledge and gazing upon God's glory (בהביטי בכבודכה) enables the speaker to recount God's wonders. This gazing, alluded to at the beginning of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:5), may itself allude to gaining knowledge, as gazing upon God's glory is paralleled with understanding God's wondrous secret counsel (בהביני בסוד פלאכה), a phrase that appears in the subsequent line (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:22–23).

In this psalm, the first-person singular speaker depicts himself as having access to divine knowledge (see, e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:16), with stanza 2B further depicting a larger group of people having access to divine knowledge. However, the speaker does not depict himself as a mediator between God and the people of community. Instead, God is said to have given insight (נתתה שכל) directly to the children of his truth (בני אמתכה; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:29). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19, for instance, the verb נתן is used to describe how God has given insight (הנותן בִּיגה) to a wisdom teacher.<sup>565</sup> In stanza 2B, similar language is applied to a larger group of people, while no mediator is mentioned in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:29. Thus, both the speaker and the children of God's truth, perhaps referring to the community of the speaker, are depicted as recipients of divine wisdom. The revelation of divine knowledge is thus portrayed as a collective experience without a mediator.

*Table 11.* Transmission of Divine Knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5



Stanza 2B further elaborates on the division between those who have access to divine knowledge and those who do not. The speaker contrasts himself and the (other) children of God's truth with the mighty, who put their trust on wealth. The imagery in stanza 2B recalls that in 1QH<sup>a</sup>

<sup>565</sup> On God's giving his spirit to a wisdom teacher, see 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:36; 8:20, 29; 20:15; 21:34.

16:5–17:36, where the righteous community is depicted as an eternal planting in the Garden of Eden,<sup>566</sup> with the righteous and the wicked as two types of trees: trees of life and trees by the water.<sup>567</sup> Similarly, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:27–28, the mighty are compared to trees that flourish beside channels, while the children of God’s truth abhor luxuries and have been granted insight by God. The speaker also recounts his belief in a hierarchy based on the amount of each man’s knowledge.<sup>568</sup> At this point (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:29–30), the psalm recalls Instruction, using the same phrase (“and according to their knowledge they are honored, one more than the other”; cf. 4Q418 55 10) to refer to the status of the an elect.<sup>569</sup> Both passages also use נחלה (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:30–31; 4Q418 55 6) to refer to people’s spiritual inheritance.<sup>570</sup>

Table 12. Shared Expression between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:29–31a and 4Q418 55 10 (Instruction)

| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 18:29–31  | 4Q418 55 10 (Instruction) <sup>571</sup>   |
|--|--|
| <p>ולבני אמתכה נתתה שכל<sup>572</sup> [ ] ׀ ׀ ׀ ׀ ת ׀ עד<br/> ולפי דעתם יכבדו 30 איש מרעהו<br/> וכן לבן אדם ׀ [ בא ] יש<br/> הרביתה נחלתו 31 בדעת אמתכה</p> <p>But to the children of your truth you have given insight ׀ ׀ ׀ [ ] t everlasting, and according to their knowledge they are honored, 30. one more than the other. And thus for the mortal being ׀ [ ] in a m[an] you have made his inheritance great 31. through the knowledge of your truth.</p> | <p>ול[פִּי] דעתם יכבדו איש מרעהו<br/> ולפי שכלו ירבה הדרו</p> <p>Ac[cording to their knowledge they (i.e. men) will receive honour, one man more than his neighbour,<br/> and according to each one’s understanding will his glory be increased.</p> |

In the subsequent lines (1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:32–33), the speaker recounts his joy in God’s covenant. As in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:5–17:36, the speaker similarly refers to an eternal fount (מקור עולם). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:9, the eternal fount is paralleled with the living waters of Eden, while the water imagery (including the eternal fount mentioned again in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:21) is used in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:17–28 to depict a revelation of divine knowledge.<sup>572</sup> Thus, it is possible that the eternal fount in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:33 also refers to revealed

<sup>566</sup> James R. Davila, “The Hodayot Hymnist and the Four Who Entered Paradise,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 461–65.

<sup>567</sup> Kim Harkins, *Reading*, 234.

<sup>568</sup> Similar point of view is found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:19–33 (cf. 3.2.1, above).

<sup>569</sup> On the relationship between Instruction and the Thanksgiving Psalms, see 3.2.2, above.

<sup>570</sup> Elgvin, “An Analysis,” 160. Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:22, where making one’s inheritance great is also mentioned.

<sup>571</sup> The Hebrew text and the English translation (slightly modified) are given according to Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4*. On the translation, cf. Elgvin (“An Analysis,” 160).

<sup>572</sup> Cf. also Davila, “The Hodayot Hymnist,” 465.

knowledge, as the speaker describes how his heart is opened to the eternal fount.<sup>573</sup> How the term “eternal fount” is used in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:17–28 and stanza 2B highlights how the speakers of these psalms serve different roles. While the speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:17–28 emphasizes his own role as a mediator of divine knowledge, God having given him words that have become a spring of living water, which he has in turn opened as a fount for his people, in stanza 2B, the speaker does not boast of being a mediator of divine knowledge but rather depicts himself in a similar role as any other mortal or the children of God’s truth in general. Unlike in the three לשמשכיל psalms analyzed in chapters 2 and 3, there is no mention of the speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5 being a teacher, and the psalm lacks any reference to teaching. Instead, the psalm represents revealed knowledge as the basis of praise that should take place day and night.

In the following section, I turn to the psalm in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, where wisdom is likewise presented as a prerequisite for praising God. It differs, however, in that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the speaker does act as a mediator of divine knowledge, the content of which is itself recited in the psalm.

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<sup>573</sup> The stanza continues by describing the anguish of the speaker. Similar description can be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 16:5–17:36 as well as in several other Thanksgiving Psalms, for which cf., e.g., 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:34–38; 15:4–8; 16:28–17:7; 19:22–27. Davila points out how the language in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 18:32–38 resembles that of Enoch’s visionary tours; James R. Davila, “Heavenly Ascents in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment: Volume 2*, ed. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 477.



ורוחות סער] ה' למשאם  
זקים וברקים לעבודתם  
ואוצרות 15 מחשבת לחפציה]ם  
[ לרזיהם

[stor]m [winds] according to their task,  
shooting stars and lightning according to their  
service,  
and storehouses 15. devised for th[eir]  
purposes  
[...]<sup>o</sup> according to their mysteries.

Stanza 1C (9:15b–22)

Stanza 1C (9:15b–22)

אתה בראתה ארץ {ב} בכוחה  
16 ימים ותהומות עֲשִׂיתָ תה בעוזכה  
ומח] שְׁבִיָּהֶם הכִּינוּתָהּ בחוכמתכה  
וכל אשר בם 17 תכ[נ]תָּה לרצונכָּה  
[ לְרוּחַ אָדָם אֲשֶׁר יֵצֵאת בְּתַבָּל לְכֹל יְמֵי עוֹלָם  
18 וְדוֹרוֹת נֹצַח לָמַד [ לְ  
וְכַקְצִיָּהֶם פִּלְגָתָהּ עֲבוֹדָתָם בְּכֹל דּוֹרֵיהֶם  
ומשׁ[פ]ט 19 במועדיה לממשלָּת  
וד[ר]כֵּיהֶם הַכִּינּוּתָהּ לְדוֹר וָדוֹר  
ופקודת שלומם עם 20 עם<sup>576</sup> כול נגיעיהם] ה  
ותפלגָה לכול צאצֵאֵיהֶם לְמִסְפַּר דּוֹרוֹת עוֹלָם  
21 ולכול שני נצח ]○○○[ ה  
ובחכמת דעתכה הַכִּינּוּתָהּ תַּעֲוִי דָתָם בְּטָרֵם  
22 היותם  
ועל פי רִצּוֹנָהּ כִּהֵּן [נ] הִיָּה כֹל  
ומבלעדיך לא יעשה vacat

You yourself created earth through your  
strength,  
16. the seas and the deeps [you] made  
[through your might  
and] their [de]signs you established through  
your wisdom,  
and all that is in them 17. you set in or[der]  
according to your will [...] for the human spirit that you fashioned in the  
world for all the days of eternity  
18. and everlasting generations for m[...]/  
And according to their seasons,  
you allotted their service throughout all their  
generations  
and the jud[g]ment 19. in the times appointed  
for it,  
according to their domini[on...  
and] their [w]ays you determined for every  
generation,  
and a visitation for their recompense together  
with 20. with all their punishments [...]h.  
And you allotted it to all their offspring  
according to the number of the generations of  
eternity  
21. and for everlasting years ○○○[...]h  
And in the wisdom of your knowledge you  
determ[i]ned their des[t]iny before 22. they  
existed.  
According to you wi[ll] everything [comes] to  
pass;  
and without you nothing is done. vacat

<sup>576</sup> The repetition of עם is due to dittography; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 125.

Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23–36a

Stanza 2A (9:23–29a)

23 אלה ידעתי מבינתכה  
 כיא גליתיה אוזני לרזי פלא  
 ואני יצר החמר ומגבל המים  
 24 סוד הערוה ומקור הנדה  
 כור העוון ומבנה החטאה  
 רוח התועה ונעוה  
 בלא 25 בינה ונבעתה בִּמְשַׁפְּטֵי צדק  
 מה אדבר בלא נודע  
 ואשמיעה בלא סופר  
 הכול 26 חקוק לפניכה בחרת זכרון  
 לכול קצי נצח ותקופות מספר שני עולם בכול  
 מועדיהם  
 27 ולוא נסתרו ולא נעדרו מלפניכה  
 ומה יספר אנוש חטאתו  
 ומה יוכיח על עוונותיו  
 28 ומה ישיב עיל על משפט הצדק  
 לכה אתה אל<sup>577</sup> הדעות כול מעשי הצדקה 29 וסוד  
 האמת  
 ולבני האדם עבודת העוון ומעשי הרמיה

Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23–36a

Stanza 2A (9:23–29a)

23. These things I know because of  
 understanding which comes from you,  
 for you have opened my ears to wondrous  
 mysteries.  
 Yet I am a vessel of clay and a thing kneaded  
 with water,  
 24. a foundation of shame and a well of  
 impurity,  
 a furnace of iniquity, and a structure of sin,  
 a spirit of error, and a perverted being,  
 without 25. understanding, and terrified by  
 righteous judgments.  
 What could I say that is not already known,  
 or what could be I declare that has not already  
 been told?  
 Everything 26. is engraved before you in an  
 inscription of record  
 for all the everlasting seasons and the  
 numbered cycles of the eternal years<sup>578</sup> with  
 all their appointed times.  
 27. They are not hidden nor missing from your  
 presence.  
 And how should a person explain his sin,  
 and how should he defend his iniquities?  
 28. And how should an unjust person reply to  
 righteous judgment?  
 To you, God of knowledge, belong all righteous  
 deeds 29. and true counsel.  
 But to mortal beings belongs iniquitous service  
 and deceitful deeds.

Stanza 2B (9:29b–33a)

אתה בראתה 30 רוח בלשון  
 ותדע דבריה  
 ותכן פרי שפתים בטרם היותם

Stanza 2B (9:29b–33a)

You yourself created 30. breath for the tongue.  
 You know its words,  
 and you determine the fruit of the lips before  
 they exist.

<sup>577</sup> The word *אל* is written in paleo-Hebrew script; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 126.

<sup>578</sup> The translation “the cycles of the number of everlasting years” is also possible. Nonetheless, it is more likely that the passage refers to numbered jubilee cycles or to longer periods; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 131.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>ותשם דברים על קו<br/> 31 ומבע רוח שפתים במדה<br/> ותוצא קוים לרזיהם<br/> ומִבְעֵי רוֹחוֹת לחשבונם<br/> להודיע 32 כבודכה<br/> ולספר נפלאותיכה בכול מעשי אמתכה ומִ[ש]פִּ[ט]<sup>579</sup><br/> צִדְקָה<br/> ולהלל שמכה 33 בפה כול יודעיכה<br/> לפי שכלם יברכוכה לעולמי עֵ[ו]למי[ם]</p> | <p>You set the words according to the measuring line,<br/> 31. and the utterance of the breath of the lips by measure.<br/> And you bring forth the line according to their mysteries<br/> and the utterance of the breath according to their calculus,<br/> in order to make known 32. your glory<br/> and to recount your wonders in all your faithful deeds and righteous j[ud]gm[ents],<br/> and to praise your name 33. with the mouth of all who know you.<br/> According to their insight they bless you for ev[erlasti]ng ages</p> |
|---|--|

Stanza 2C (9:33b–36a)

Stanza 2C (9:33b–36a)

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>ואתה ברחמיכה 34 וגדול חסדיכה<br/> חזקתה רוח אנוש לפני נגע<br/> וְנַפְשֵׁי אַבְיוֹן טהרתה מרוב עוון<br/> 35 לספר נפלאותיכה לנגד כול מעשיכה<br/> ואֲסַפֵּר[ה] תמיד בְּקִרְבָּם משפטי נגיעי<br/> 36 ולבני אנוש כול נפלאותיכה <u>אשר הגברתה בִּי</u><br/> לנגד בְּנֵי אָדָם</p> | <p>And you, in your compassion 34. and your great kindness,<br/> you have strengthened the human spirit in the face of affliction<br/> and [the poor] soul you have cleansed from great iniquity<br/> 35. so that it might recount your wonders before all your creatures.<br/> And I will recit[e continually] in their midst the judgments which have afflicted me,<br/> 36. and to humankind all your wonders by which you have shown yourself strong through [me before hu]mankind.</p> |
|--|---|

Stanza 2D (9:36b–?)

Stanza 2D (9:36b–?)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>שמעו 37 חכמים ושחי דִעַת<br/> וְנִמְהָרִים יהיו ליצר סמוך<br/> [ כל ישרי ד[ר] הוסיפו ערמה<br/> 38 צדיקים השביתו עֲוֹלָה<br/> וכל תמימי דרך הִחְזִיקוּ]</p> | <p>Hear, 37. O sages, and those who ponder<sup>579</sup> knowledge.<br/> May those who are eager become firm in purpose.<br/> [All who are straight of wa]y become more discerning.<br/> 38. O righteous ones, put an end to injustice.<br/> And all you whose way is perfect, hold fast [...]</p> |
|---|--|

<sup>579</sup> The word שחי is understood as participle from the root שיח; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 127–28.

|                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| נד[כָּא עני האריכו 39 אפים    | O you who are cru]shed by poverty, be         |
| ואל תמאסוּ במשפּטִי צדק       | patient.                                      |
| ו[ילי לב לא יבינו 40 אלה      | 39. Do not reject [righteous] judgment[s ...  |
| וּמִדְבָּר אִמּוֹ [ ]         | But the ...]y/y of mind do not understand 40. |
| 41 [ער]יצים יחרוקוּן שנים [ ] | these things                                  |
| [ ] 10:1–2                    | and °°°°d 'm°[...]                            |
| [ ] 3                         | 41. [the ruth]less grind [(their) teeth ...]  |
| [ ] 4                         | 10:1.–2. [...]                                |
| [ ] 3                         | 3. [...]°°[...] <sup>°</sup> dw [...]         |
| [ ] 4                         | 4.[...]°°°y °°°[...] <sup>°°°°°</sup> [...]   |

#### 4.2.1 Structure and Content

Because the upper part of 1QH<sup>a</sup> is destroyed, it is impossible to establish where 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 begins and ends based on the manuscript alone. However, an estimation can be made with the help of 4QpapH<sup>f</sup> (4Q432), which preserves parallels to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:13–15, 36–37; 10:5–8, the psalm found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9 seeming to be the first psalm in 4QpapH<sup>f</sup>. Based on the material reconstruction of 4QpapH<sup>f</sup>, those fragments that preserve parallels to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:13–15, 36–37 belonged originally to the second column of 4QpapH<sup>f</sup>. Calculating the amount of text that would fit into the first column of 4QpapH<sup>f</sup>, it seems that the first column could not have contained more text than what fits in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9. Furthermore, the change in orthography in 1QH<sup>a</sup> suggests that columns 8 and 9 preserve separate psalms. In column 9, the second-person suffix is always written כה-, but in column 8, the defective form ך- dominates. As for the end of the psalm, based on the evidence in 4QpapH<sup>f</sup>, which preserves parts of the beginning of the following psalm, and on that of the parallels with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:5–8, it is likely that, in manuscript 1QH<sup>a</sup>, a new psalm begins in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10:5, and the previous psalm would have ended on line 4.<sup>580</sup>

The blank spaces on column 9 indicate section and stanza division.<sup>581</sup> As the scribe left the end of line 22 empty, I suggest that this long blank space divides the first section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–22) of the psalm from the second (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23–10:4). The change of theme after 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:22 likewise suggests the beginning of a new section, the first section discussing the creation, while the second section begins with a *Niedrigkeitsdoxologie*. As for stanza division, I suggest that the first section is divided into three stanzas, based on the short blank spaces that are followed by ואתה/אתה (1QH<sup>a</sup>

<sup>580</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 120, 134.

<sup>581</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 127; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 209–210.



9:11, 15).<sup>582</sup> The second section can be further divided into at least four stanzas based on the short blank spaces that are followed by *ואתה/אתה שמעו* (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:29, 33, 36). There is a long word space in line 35 between *מעשיכה* and *ואספֿרֿךְ*, but, because this space is much shorter than the blank spaces that indicate stanza division, it is unlikely that this short blank space would mark a division in the psalm. It is, however, possible for there to have been another stanza division at the now-fragmentary end of the psalm, the theme seems to change in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:39: the beginning of the line refers to the righteous, while the end of the line discusses those who do not understand. However, due to the fragmentary state of the end of column 9 and the beginning of column 10, no firm conclusions can be drawn.

The structure I suggest for the psalm comes close to that presented by Armin Lange. Lange notes the use of blank spaces in the column 9 but takes into account also the content of the psalm in his analysis. Thus, his structural analysis differs from what I have presented. In the first section, Lange suggests a stanza division in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:6, not in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11, the latter of which preserves a blank space. Lange also divides the second stanza of the first section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:6–22 in Lange’s analysis) into four strophes. In doing so, the creation is treated in a single stanza (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:6–22), in which each strophe contains a different theme: the stanza begins with an introduction to the topic, after which the creation of the heavens, the earth, and the humans are recounted in the three subsequent strophes.<sup>583</sup> I do not consider the content of the psalm as important in analyzing the structure of the psalm as consideration of blank spaces, and, thus, I have established section and stanza divisions based on blank spaces. In my analysis, the creation is recounted in two stanzas, of which stanza 1B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11b–15a) deals with the creation of the heavens, while stanza 1C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:15b–22) recounts the creation of the earth and humans.

<sup>582</sup> The scribe sometimes left long word spaces before the last words of the line (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:12, 16, 20, 21, 37) to make the length of the lines regular. These spaces do not indicate stanza division; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 121.

<sup>583</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 209–211.

**First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–22**

|                       |   |   |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Stanza 1A (9:1–11a)   | (Fragmentary text +)<br>Enumeration of God's<br>deeds | Ends with a vacat<br><br>Begins with ואתה |
| Stanza 1B (9:11b–15a) | Creation, part 1                                      | Ends with vacat                           |
| Stanza 1C (9:15b–22)  | Creation, part 2                                      | Begins with אתה<br>Ends with vacat        |

**Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23–10:4**

|                       |  |                                     |
|-----------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| Stanza 2A (9:23–29a)  | Niedrigkeitsdoxologie                            | Begins with אלה<br>Ends with vacat  |
| Stanza 2B (9:29b–33a) | God determines words                             | Begins with אתה                     |
| Stanza 2C (9:33b–36a) | Recounting God's wonders                         | Ends with vacat<br>Begins with ואתה |
| Stanza 2D (36b–?)     | Exhortations of the wise<br>(+ fragmentary text) | Ends with vacat<br>Begins with שמעו |

1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 is sometimes called a Creation Psalm,<sup>584</sup> and, indeed, creation is the main topic of the first section. Inasmuch as can be deduced from the fragmentary stanza 1A, the psalm could have begun by giving thanks to or blessing God for his deeds in creation.<sup>585</sup> In stanza 1B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11b–15a), the speaker then recounts the creation of the heavenly sphere, which includes the divine beings, celestial bodies, and natural phenomena.<sup>586</sup> Finally, in stanza 1C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:15b–22), the speaker describes the creation of the earth, the seas, and the deeps, as well as of human beings.

<sup>584</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 210; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 120.

<sup>585</sup> A lexical parallel to Jer 32:19 can be found also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:7 (“great in counsel,” גדול העצה). However, it is difficult to ascertain whether the parallel is coincidental given the fragmentary context. As Lange points out, גדול העצה appears in pre-rabbinic literature only in Jer 32:19, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26; 9:7. Nevertheless, because the words גדול and עצה are not rare in the sectarian Qumran Scrolls, the combination of these two words could be simply coincidental. On the other hand, because 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26 alludes to Jer 32:19 with the phrase “great in counsel and mighty in deed” (גדול העצה ורב), it is likely that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:7 also alludes to Jer 32:19; Lange, “The Textual,” 272. In addition, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:7 has a *lacuna*, so it is also possible that the line reads “great in counsel and mighty in deed” (גדול העצה ורב העליליה), just as Jer 32:19; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26. The thematic similarities between Jer 32:17–25 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 are also notable. In both passages, God is blessed as the creator. Furthermore, in Jer 32:19 God is described as having given to every human according to his or her ways. Even though there are no significant lexical parallels between Jer 32:19 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 (except for גדול העצה), that God gives everyone according to what they deserve does fit the ideology of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4.

<sup>586</sup> The divine beings, the celestial bodies, and the natural phenomena are accompanied by the third-person plural suffix, the antecedent of which is the “heavens” (שמים), mentioned in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11. Thus, the mysteries, paths, tasks, etc. according to which the divine beings, celestial bodies, and natural phenomena function is made in reference to the heavens, not to the divine beings, celestial bodies, and natural phenomena themselves; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 216.

Even though the creation itself is recounted in stanzas 1B and 1C, the end of stanza 1A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–11a) already summarizes the main idea—that the creation reveals God’s will and his ability to determine the destiny of every created being (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:9–11a; cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:17–22).<sup>587</sup> The creation is further tied together with eschatology,<sup>588</sup> since, after the creation of humankind, the psalm describes how God has allotted everyone’s judgment (משפט) for their appointed time (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:18–20).<sup>589</sup> The second section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23–10:4) discusses human actions in relation to the coming judgment (משפט, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:25, 28, 32). A proper response to God’s rebuke is to praise him and to recount his wonders (נפלאות). As the root פלא is often used to style God as redeemer and creator,<sup>590</sup> this meaning may apply also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, as God’s deeds in creation are recounted in the psalm.

At the beginning of the second section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23–36a), the creation is presented as a divine mystery. The speaker states that God has opened his ears to “wondrous mysteries” (רזי) (פלא) and that he knows “these things” (אלה), because he has received “understanding” (בינה) from God, likely referring to God’s deterministic plan for his creation, recounted in the first section,<sup>591</sup> as,

<sup>587</sup> According to Lange, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:9 (כול מעשיהם ידעתה כול מעשיהם) is referred to in the Damascus Document (CD 2:7), though the verb is different: ויבטרום נוסדו ידע את מעשיהם; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 230, 242. In CD 2:7, the phrase refers to those whom God had not chosen.

<sup>588</sup> At this point, I disagree with Lange, who argues that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the determined order of creation is not tied together with eschatology. Lange further argues that the creation is not tied together with ethical dualism; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 297. Concerning the expression “between good and wickedness” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:4, see below.

<sup>589</sup> The word משפט can be found also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11 but can mean “judgment” or “law.” Newsom, for example, translates 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:10–11: “You formed every spirit, and [their] work [you determin]ed, and the judgment (משפט) for all their deeds.” In this case, the meaning of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:10–11 would be similar to that of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:18–20: God has established everyone’s deeds and judgment already in creation. Lange, on the other hand, understands משפט as “law:” “Du hast allen Geist geformt und [ihre] Tat[en] hast [du festgesetzt], und ein Gesetz haben alle ihre Werke”; Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 207, 215. Lange’s translation ties 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:10–11 together with the following lines (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:12–15), which describe how the natural phenomena function according to their laws (חוקים), purposes, mysteries, and so on.

<sup>590</sup> Thomas, *The “Mysteries,”* 144; further on the term, cf. 2.2.3, above.

<sup>591</sup> Goff draws attention to the fact that, in the first section, the heavenly bodies are said to function according their mysteries (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:13–15), linking the mysteries of the heavenly bodies to those revealed by God in the second section and concluding that the cosmic order reflects divine wisdom; Goff, “Reading Wisdom”, 273–74. In my view, how the heavenly bodies function is certainly part of the mysteries revealed to the speaker. However, I do not think that the “wondrous mysteries” in the second section refer exclusively to the activities of the heavenly bodies, just because the word “mysteries” appears in both passages; cf. Thomas, *The “Mysteries,”* 214–15.

in the Thanksgiving Psalms, the word אֱלֹה usually refers to what has been recounted previously.<sup>592</sup> Furthermore, פֶּלֶא may refer to the creation, as mentioned above.

The speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 can be construed as a mediator of divine knowledge. In stanza 2D (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:36b–?), the speaker presents himself as a teacher by exhorting his pupils that they become more discerning. The speaker would most likely identify himself as a sage (חֲכָמִי), because he addresses his audience also as “sages” (חֲכָמִים) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:37, juxtaposing this word with other positive terms like the “righteous” (צַדִּיקִים) and “all whose way is perfect” (כֹּל תְּמִים דֶּרֶךְ) on the following line. I thus disagree with Lange, according to whom the Thanksgiving Psalms “express a negative attitude towards the sage” based on the juxtaposition of the sages with “the reckless” (נִמְהָרִים) and on their being exhorted to meditate upon knowledge and to become steadfast in mind.<sup>593</sup> While two other Thanksgiving Psalms (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:15; 12:2) do seem to betray a negative attitude towards sages, this seems unlikely in the case of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 because of the positive terminology. Even נִמְהָרִים can be translated in the more positive sense of “those who are eager,” as Carol Newsom has done (cf. the translation in 4.2, above). Because the view on sages in stanza 2D is positive, I argue that the speaker probably regarded himself also as a sage.

As one who knows divine mysteries, the speaker of the psalm is empowered to give exhortations to others. References especially to “these things” and “righteous judgments” in stanza 2D ties the stanza together to previous parts of the psalm. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:39, the sages are advised not to “reject [righteous] judgment[s].” This may be because, according to the previous parts of the psalm, everyone’s path and coming judgment were destined already in the creation (cf. above). The response to God’s righteous judgments is subsequently pondered throughout the second section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:25, 28, 32),<sup>594</sup> and the speaker and (other) sages are probably juxtaposed with those who do not understand “these things” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:39–40). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23, “these things” refers to the mystery of creation revealed to the speaker, as already argued above.<sup>595</sup>

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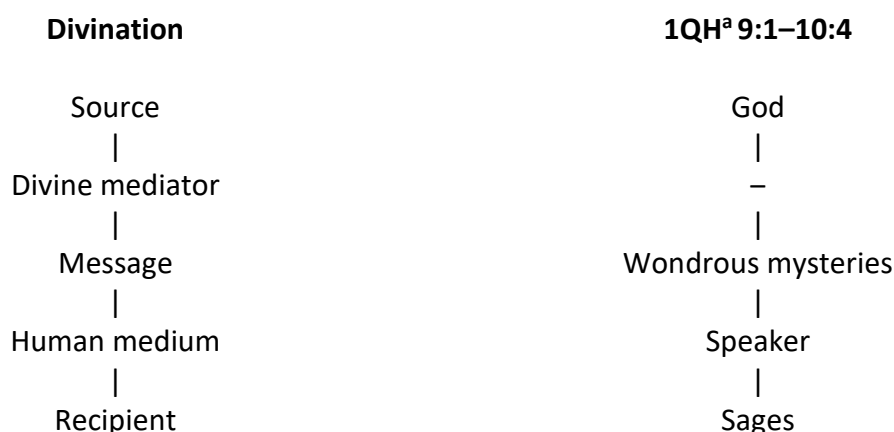
<sup>592</sup> Concerning אֱלֹה in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. 1.4, above.

<sup>593</sup> Lange, “Sages and Scribes,” 284–85.

<sup>594</sup> Cf. also the beginning of the psalm, where God is described as patient in his judgments (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:8).

<sup>595</sup> In this thesis, stanza 2D is read as a part of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. Douglas, on the other hand, interprets 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:36b–? as the introduction to the following Thanksgiving Psalms. He further argues that, because stanza 2D is situated towards the end of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, it must be an introduction for the following Thanksgiving Psalms. Douglas also points out lexical links between stanza 2D and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 10; Douglas “The Teacher,” 256–57, n. 31. However, many psalms include

Table 13. Transmission of Divine Knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4



How the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 resembles the three Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to the wisdom teacher (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42) especially in three respects. First, the mediator of divine knowledge is a teacher. Because the beginning of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 is not preserved, it is possible, in principle, that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 is attributed to the wisdom teacher with the *למשכיל* heading, like in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 20:7–22:42. Even if 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 was not originally attributed to the wisdom teacher, its appearance together with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 20:7–22:42 demonstrates that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 could have been recited by wisdom teachers, since all these psalms are included together in 1QH<sup>a</sup>. Nevertheless, the differences between the *למשכיל* psalms and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 may indicate that these psalms originate from different periods and/or social settings.<sup>596</sup> Such differences include a reference to sages (*חכמים*) and the frequent use of the root *חכמ* in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the latter of which is uncommon in the Thanksgiving Psalms, with five out of thirteen instances found just in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4.<sup>597</sup> In addition, the speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 does not present himself as a community leader, nor does the psalm have significant similarities with 1QS, like 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 20:7–22:42 do.

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exhortations at the middle or towards the end of the psalm (cf., e.g., Ps 45:11; 50:7; 66:16; 81:9.) Furthermore, as demonstrated above, stanza 2D has lexical links also with other parts of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. In my view, stanza 2D is an integral part of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, but, together with the rest of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, it could serve as an introduction to the Teacher Hymns. On 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 as an introduction, cf. note 619 in 4.2.2, below.

<sup>596</sup> Cf. e.g. Douglas “The Teacher,” 256–57.

<sup>597</sup> The root *חכמ* appears also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:20; 11:15, 16; 17:17, 23; 18:4; [25:25]; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 346.

If the speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 was originally a sage, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 would be the only sectarian composition from Qumran to describe the sage (חכם) as a mediator of divine knowledge. Sages are mentioned in the Rule of Congregation and in the Damascus Document in a positive light as leading officials (1QSa 2) and as the forefathers of the Damascus covenant who understood the law correctly (CD 6). However, unlike in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, they are not presented as mediators of divine knowledge. In contrast, some non-sectarian Hebrew and Aramaic compositions from the Qumran caves describe the sage (חכם in Hebrew; חכים in Aramaic) as the mediator of divine knowledge—for example, David’s compositions and Instruction (cf. 1.3.3, above) in Hebrew. In Aramaic compositions, Israel’s ancestors—Enoch, Noah, and Abraham—are depicted as sages who are also inductive diviners.<sup>598</sup>

Another similarity between the three למשכיל psalms and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 is the description of divine knowledge as concerning God’s deterministic plan for his creation.<sup>599</sup> In addition, it is possible that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 ties the creation together with binary division in the world, as 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:4 preserves the words “between good and wicked[ness]” (בין טוב לרשע). In their notes, Stegemann and Schuller suggest the reconstruction “to know between good and wickedness.”<sup>600</sup> Similar binary expressions can be found also in the two ways teachings in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:20–21), Instruction (4Q417 1 i 6–7, 17–18), and the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 4:26). The expression “between good and wickedness” likewise appears in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:22–23 in relation to the two lots of humankind (cf. 3.2.1, above). The reference to God determining everyone’s ways in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:19 also recalls the two ways teachings found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41.<sup>601</sup> As discussed in the following subsection (4.2.2), the second section of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 also contains lexical parallels to 4Q417 1 i, which includes a two ways teaching. However, due to the fragmentary state of the beginning and end of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, it cannot be argued with confidence that the psalm would also have included a reference to the two ways.<sup>602</sup>

<sup>598</sup> Cf. Abraham in Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen 19), Enoch in Letter of Enoch (4Q212 1 ii 22–23), and Noah in Birth of Noah<sup>a</sup> (4Q534 1 i 8); Lange, “Sages and Scribes,” 279–82.

<sup>599</sup> Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 230–31.

<sup>600</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 121.

<sup>601</sup> The final section of the psalm addresses “those whose way is perfect” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:38); cf. the reconstruction “[all who are straight of way]” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:37.

<sup>602</sup> For the possible influence of 4Q417 1 i 8, 17–18 or 1QS 4:26, cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 212. As noted above, בין טוב לרשע can be found also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 6:22–23. However, due to the other parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 and 4Q417 1 i, the influence of 4Q417 1 i 8, 17–18 is more likely.

A third similarity concerns the origins of the supposedly divine knowledge. Even though the speaker refers to God opening his ears (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23), the speaker may not have gained his wisdom through an aural experience. Reference to understanding having been received from God (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23; cf. discussion above) may indicate that the transmission of divine knowledge should be understood as an intellectual process that is enabled by God.<sup>603</sup> Similarly, gaining wisdom may be understood as an intellectual process in the *למשכיל* psalms (cf. 2.2.3; 3.4, above). Furthermore, the supposedly divine knowledge is created through the interpretation of earlier traditions, as in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41. The analysis and its results are presented the following subsection (4.2.2).

#### 4.2.2 Inspired Interpretation of Earlier Traditions

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the creation account in stanzas 1B and 1C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11b–22) is drawn from an interpretation of earlier traditions, one that could be characterized as inspired, because it is said to be aided by God (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23). My analysis demonstrates that the interpretation is created by juxtaposing older traditions that share the same expressions. This interpretative method is known not only from the Thanksgiving Psalms but also from various other Second-Temple compositions.<sup>604</sup> Therefore, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9, the psalmist interprets older traditions that describe God stretching out the heavens: Zechariah 12:1, Jeremiah 10:12–13 (and/or 11Q5 26:13–14), and Psalm 104:1–4. An older tradition that does not include a reference to God stretching out the heavens but is nonetheless interpreted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11b–22 is Psalm 135:6–7. The second section of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23–10:4) then characterizes divine knowledge in a similar way as is done in Instruction (4Q417 1 i), where God’s deterministic plan for the creation is also described as a divine mystery. The psalmist’s deterministic worldview is thus combined with that in 4Q417 1 i and earlier traditions concerning the creation. In this respect, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 resembles 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, discussed in section 3.2. All lexical parallels presented in the following discussion are listed in Table 14, at the end of this subsection.

Stanza 1B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11b–15a) begins with a reference to God stretching out the heavens (וְאַתָּה נָטִיתָ שָׁמַיִם). In Zechariah 12:1, God is also described as the one who stretches out the heavens (נָטָה שָׁמַיִם). As Armin Lange has argued, Zechariah 12:1 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:15b–22 share similar structures, as the creation of the heavens, the earth, and the humans are recounted in the same

<sup>603</sup> Cf. 1.3.3, above.

<sup>604</sup> Idem, “Deriving,” 262.

order. Lexical parallels with Zechariah 12:1 can be found in the description of the creation of humans as God having formed the human spirit in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:17b.<sup>605</sup> This is in turn related to the view that God has determined everyone's destiny already since creation (cf. also 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:10b–12a). Compared to Zechariah 12:1, the theme of creation is developed further in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. In the Book of Zechariah, on the other hand, the reference to the creation in Zechariah 12:1 demonstrates that God has the might to fulfill his promises about the fate of Jerusalem, because he is the creator of the entire world, while in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the creation is said to reveal God's deterministic plan for the creation and, therefore, that God's words will come true.<sup>606</sup>

Another reference to stretching out the heavens can be found in Jeremiah 10:12. Here, there are also several lexical parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11b–17a and Jeremiah 10:12–13. These include the roots “to make” (עשה) and “establish” (בון) as well as the nouns “earth” (ארץ), “strength” (כוח), “wisdom” (חכמה), “lightning” (ברקים), and “storehouses” (אוצרות). However, it is difficult to demonstrate that the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 would have interpreted Jeremiah 10:12–13 specifically, as similar traditions can be found in several sources. First, all the same lexical parallels can be found also in the Hymn to the Creator (11Q5 26:13a–15), because its author was also influenced by Jeremiah 10:12–13.<sup>607</sup> The Hymn to the Creator is alluded to also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:28, when the creation of the world is recounted (cf. 3.2.2, above). Therefore, it is possible that the Hymn to the Creator was known also to the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. Second, Psalm 135:7 is identical to the latter part of Jeremiah 10:13, where lightning and storehouses are mentioned. It seems that the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 also made use of Psalm 135:6–7, as 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:16 shares with Psalm 135:6 the words “the seas” (ימים), “the deeps” (תהומות) and “all that” (כול אשר),<sup>608</sup> furthermore, resembling Psalm 135:6 thematically: in both, God is said to have created everything that is in the heaven, the earth, and the seas and the deeps (in that order) according to his will (cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:16–17). Therefore, it is possible that author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 drew inspiration from Jeremiah 10:12–13, 11Q5 26:13a–15, and Psalm 135:6–7 alike, in all of which God is depicted as creating the heavens, the earth and/or the seas and the deeps according to his wisdom, power, and/or will. Unlike in Jeremiah 10:12–13,

<sup>605</sup> The influence of Zech 12:1 can be detected also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:26–27. Cf. 3.3.2, above.

<sup>606</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 212–13, 220, 229.

<sup>607</sup> Lange, “The Textual,” 259.

<sup>608</sup> For the argument that Ps 135:6 is interpreted also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:26, cf. 3.2.2, above.



11Q5 26:13a–15, or Psalm 135:6–7, however, this description is tied together with a deterministic worldview, expressed, for example, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:9–10 (cf. 4.2.1, above).

According to Lange, it is more likely that the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 was influenced by Jeremiah 10:12 than by the Hymn to the Creator, because the Thanksgiving Psalms allude frequently to the Book of Jeremiah. While Lange considers only some lexical parallels between Jeremiah 10:12 (= Jeremiah 51:15) and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:15–16,<sup>609</sup> even those he ignores could not demonstrate that the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 would have had to have made use of Jeremiah 10 instead of the Hymn to the Creator, because all the expressions parallel Jeremiah 10:12–13 can also be found in 11Q5 26:13a–15. However, it may not be necessary—or even possible—to determine a single composition from which the interpretation arises. Rather, the interpretation of earlier traditions seems more flexible in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, drawing from a pool of traditions that share the same catchwords.

A third earlier composition that mentions stretching out the heavens is Psalm 104 (cf. Ps 104:2). In addition to this reference, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11–12 and the beginning of Psalm 104 share the words רוחות and מלאכים, Psalm 104:4 referring to winds that God makes his messengers. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11–12, the words רוחות and מלאכים are interpreted differently. Here, רוחות refers not to winds but to “powerful spirits” (רוחות עוז) who later became “holy angels” (למלאכי קדוש).<sup>610</sup> These spirits control the natural phenomena (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:12b–15), and their creation and their function must have been significant topics for the psalmist, as they are discussed for several lines. Throughout the interpretation of both Psalm 104:4 as well as Jeremiah 10:12–13, 11Q5 26:13a–15, and/or Psalm 135:6–7, the heavens, lightning, and storehouses mentioned in Jeremiah 10:12–13 are associated with the creation and duties of the heavenly beings. The description of the creation and duties of the spirits in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11–15 also comes close to Jubilees 2:2, where the combination of the words רוחות and מלאכים as the heavenly beings are likewise called “angels of spirits,” מלאכי רוחות (4Q216 5:4–10). Moreover, if the reconstructions קדוש and סער[ה in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:13–14 are correct, both Jubilees 2:2 (cf. 4Q216 5:5, 8) and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:13–14 would name the holy angels and the spirits as being in charge of the storm wind(s). Despite these lexical similarities, however, it is difficult to

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<sup>609</sup> Lange, “The Textual,” 258–60.

<sup>610</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 207, 217.

demonstrate that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:11–15 interprets Jubilees 2:2, as, for the most part, the duties of the heavenly beings differ from one another in these two passages.<sup>611</sup>

In the second section of the psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23–10:4), the previous creation account is depicted as being divinely revealed knowledge in its use of similar terminology as Instruction (4Q417 1 i). The lexical parallels suggest that the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 was familiar with the teaching found in 4Q417 1 i<sup>612</sup> —that of God’s deterministic plan for his creation, though the creation itself is not discussed in detail (cf. 3.1; 3.2.2, above). By describing the previous creation account with several terms drawn from 4Q417 1 i, the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 demonstrates that his teaching is of divine origins and in line with the teaching of Instruction. First, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23 and 4Q417 1 i 2, 13, God’s deterministic plan for his creation is referred to as “wonderful mysteries” (רזי פלא).<sup>613</sup> Second, God is depicted as “God of knowledge” (אל הדעות) and is associated with “true counsel” (סוד אמת) in both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:28b–29a and 4Q417 1 i 8.<sup>614</sup> Third, both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:25b–26 and 4Q417 1 i 15–16 allude to the existence of the heavenly tablets by referring to “remembrance” (זכרון), “inscription” or “inscribing” (חרת), and “engraving” (חקק). Even though the idea that the course of history is written in a heavenly book can be found, for example, in 1 Enoch, Jubilees, and the War Scroll<sup>615</sup> and related terminology appears in various sources,<sup>616</sup> the lexical parallels are most extensive with Instruction. The passage that refer to the heavenly tablets in 4Q417 (1 i 13–18) is notably difficult to interpret, but it seems that the “spiritual people,” with whom the audience of Instruction should identify, have access to some of the knowledge engraved in the heavenly tablets, which concerns the judgment of the wicked as well as knowledge of good and evil.<sup>617</sup> However, the content of the heavenly tablets is not alluded to in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:25b–26. Rather, what is of importance is the divine and eternal nature of knowledge: the speaker says that he cannot state anything new, because everything he has spoken is already engraved before God in the heavenly tablets for all of eternity.<sup>618</sup>

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<sup>611</sup> According to Holm-Nielsen, a thematic similarity can be found also between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 and 1 En 2 and 5:2, two passages that discuss the laws of creation; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 23, 28–29.

<sup>612</sup> Goff speaks of a “common milieu,” but he does not elaborate on what he means by this; Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 273.

<sup>613</sup> Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 273–74. On this term in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, see 3.2.2, above.

<sup>614</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 226. Cf. also Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 272–73.

<sup>615</sup> Cf. e.g. 1 En 89:70, 103:2; Jub 6:31, 15:25; 1QM 12:3; Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 272–73.

<sup>616</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 223–25.

<sup>617</sup> For an interpretation of the pericope, see Goff, *The Worldy*, 83–104.

<sup>618</sup> Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 272. On the heavenly tablets, see, e.g., Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 69–79.

As in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, one might inquire whether the oral and literary transmission of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 could be considered as a divinatory practice (cf. 3.4, above). In other words, was divine knowledge considered to have been transmitted when the psalm was composed, copied, and performed? While it is difficult to conclude what the *Sitz im Leben* of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 was, the manuscript evidence at least demonstrates that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 was transmitted in written form as a part of different collections of Thanksgiving Psalms. Parts of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 have been preserved in two manuscripts, 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QpapH<sup>f</sup> (4Q432).<sup>619</sup> Thus, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 and the mysteries written in it would have been transmitted in scribal circles when the scribes studied, memorized, and copied the psalm.

The mysteries of the creation found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 could have been transmitted orally as well. The exhortations found at the beginning of stanza 2D (1QH<sup>a</sup> 36b–?) allows one to imagine a situation in which the sage would have taught his pupils by recounting the psalm (cf. 4.2.1, above). Because the teaching concerning the creation is not just any kind of teaching but is depicted as divine revealed in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the recitation of the psalm can be understood as a divinatory practice during which the sage transmitted the divine mysteries of the creation to his students. As is the case in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, such a divinatory purpose is not incompatible with the purpose of praising God.<sup>620</sup> In this sense, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the dialogue between God and the speaker, is especially interesting, as the mysteries of creation are simultaneously said to be words from God to the speaker as well as words from the speaker to God.

According to Jonathan Ben-Dov, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 engages in an ancient discussion concerning man's ability to communicate with God. According to Ben-Dov, prayer and prophecy are two sides of the same coin, as prayer is speech directed to God and prophecy is speech directed from God to human beings. In his article, Ben-Dov analyzes how certain Jewish compositions treat prayer and prophecy as forms of communication.<sup>621</sup> Especially of interest is 1 Enoch, as scholars

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<sup>619</sup> 4QpapH<sup>f</sup> (4Q432), and perhaps also 4QH<sup>c</sup> (4Q429), likely began with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, which was followed by the so-called Teacher Hymns; Schuller, "Hodayot," 181. Douglas argues that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 was composed as an introduction to the Teacher Hymns, finding both thematic and lexical similarities between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 and the following Teacher Hymns; Douglas "The Teacher," 256–57. Whether 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 was originally composed as an introduction to the Teacher Hymns cannot be ascertained, but it seems to serve that purpose in 4QpapH<sup>f</sup> (4Q432) and perhaps also in manuscript 4QH<sup>c</sup> (4Q429). Like Douglas, Schuller finds the content of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 (i.e., the creation and the exhortations) suitable for an introduction; Schuller, "Hodayot," 181.

<sup>620</sup> According to Tanzer ("The Sages," 35), the content and the formal features of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 allude to its use for both instruction and praise.

<sup>621</sup> Ben-Dov analyzes Isa 6 and its interpretations, as well as Isa 28; 1 En 14:2, 84:1; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9; 1 Cor 14.

have previously argued that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 is dependent on 1 Enoch 14:2 and 84:1,<sup>622</sup> the two passages sharing similar language in their description of language as a gift from God that enables one to transmit divine knowledge (1 En 14:2) and bless God (1 En 84:1). According to Ben-Dov, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 elaborates on the theme of language as a gift from God by describing language as being created by God, something that, like all of God’s creations, has been thoroughly planned, and such is the language people should use when praising God.<sup>623</sup> Ben-Dov does not, however, tie the discourse on praising God to prophecy in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, instead referring more generally to the ideology of the *yahad*, where both prayer and prophecy are central.<sup>624</sup>

In my view, prayer and the transmission of divine knowledge are in fact linked in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. The psalm probably started with the opening rubric “I thank you, O Lord” or “Blessed are you, O Lord,” as such opening rubrics are quite standard in the Thanksgiving Psalms. Thus, praising God for his deeds in creation is probably one of the reasons why the creation is recounted in this psalm. Communication between the speaker and God is thus dialogic, God speaking to the speaker of the psalm, who in turn can answer to God in the way that humans should, by praising God as creator.<sup>625</sup>

Praising God is a common theme in the late Second-Temple literature, and several compositions from the second century BCE—Jubilees, Ben Sira, Admonition on the Flood, Festival Prayers, and perhaps also Non-Canonical Psalms B—trace the origins of this practice to the time of creation, as Mika S. Pajunen has demonstrated.<sup>626</sup> These texts portray the praise of God as a duty, perhaps even the purpose, of humanity. Furthermore, most second-century witnesses saw Israel as an elected nation, one selected to continue praising God after the rest of the humanity had failed to perform its duty. Such notions influenced and were further developed in later liturgical texts. Thus, in several liturgical pieces from the Qumran caves (Berakhot, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices, Thanksgiving Psalms, Songs of the Sage), a new interpretation of the elect arises: the election of the

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<sup>622</sup> Jacob Licht, *Thanksgiving Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1957), 62. According to Nickelsburg (1 Enoch 1, 252), 1 En 14:2–3 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:21–31 may both be dependent on Isa 50:4.

<sup>623</sup> On identity construction in this psalm, see Newsom, *The Self*, 222–29.

<sup>624</sup> Jonathan Ben-Dov, “Language, Prayer, and Prophecy: 1 Enoch, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and 1 Corinthians,” in *Ancient Jewish Prayers and Emotions: Emotions Associated with Jewish Prayer in and around the Second Temple Period*, ed. S. C. Reif and R. Egger-Wenzel; DCLS 26 (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 246–52.

<sup>625</sup> Cf. Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 308.

<sup>626</sup> Cf. Jubilees (Jub 2:3, 21), Book of Ben Sira (Sir 17:9–10), Admonition on the Flood (4Q370 I 1–2), Festival Prayers (1Q34 3i 6–7), and Non-Canonical Psalms B (4Q381 I 7–8); Mika S. Pajunen, “The Praise of God and His Name in as the Core of the Second Temple Liturgy,” *ZAW* 127 (2015): 481–83.

whole of Israel is denied, while only the faithful remnant is said to be able to praise God. In addition, the duty to praise God was believed to be carried out together with the angels, as described also in the Jubilees (Jub 2:21). As for the creation, the growth of this tradition is visible especially in the blessings of the Berakhot, where God is praised exclusively for his deeds in creation. At the same time, none of the blessings shows an interest in the covenant or in Israel's past.<sup>627</sup>

Compared to the other late Second-Temple compositions mentioned above, the emphasis on knowledge of the creation as being divinely revealed is a distinct feature of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. In addition to the speaker, who recites the mysteries of creation, a larger group of people—“those who know God”—are also portrayed praising God “according to their insight” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:32–33). For both the speaker and the elect, a vital part of their praise is their ability to recount God's wonders (נפלאות, cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:32, 35–36). As discussed in subsection 4.2.1, the mysteries of the creation are referred to as “wonderful mysteries (רזי פלא) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23, the root פלא referring to God's marvelous deeds in creation also in other compositions. Therefore, it is reasonable to surmise that, according to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the members of the elect have also received insight concerning the mysteries of creation and, therefore, are able to praise God as the creator. The rest of the creation is then given the role of bystander, as the praise takes place before other created beings but not with them (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:34–36).<sup>628</sup>

Like many other late Second-Temple compositions, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 may also portray the practice of praising God as having been established already when humanity was created. According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:18, “you (i.e., God) allotted the service of human beings throughout their generations” (פלגתה עבודתם בכול דוריהם). While the kind of service is not elaborated on here, the psalm refers to the service of human beings again in its second section, where “iniquitous service” (עבודת העוון) is contrasted with the ability to praise God. That is, mortals are only capable to provide iniquitous service, but the elect can praise God and recount his deeds with the help of God (1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:29–35). Therefore, it is possible that “service” refers to praising God also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:18. Related to this discussion, because 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 testifies to belief in divine election and determinism, it is possible that the psalm holds even more particularistic view than the Jubilees. According to the

<sup>627</sup> Cf. Berakhot (4Q286 2 and 7i), the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:23, and the Songs of the Sage (4Q511 8 8–9); Pajunen, “The Praise of God,” 483–86.

<sup>628</sup> Another Thanksgiving Psalm, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6, provides an interesting point of comparison, as this psalm depicts the whole of creation praising God's name, albeit only in the eschatological future; cf. 4.4, below.

Jubilees, only Israel can praise God as creator, even though the origins of the practice can be traced back to the time of creation (Jub 2:15–22).<sup>629</sup> The psalm 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 would go one step further than this, claiming that not even Israel but a small number of elect can fulfil the task.<sup>630</sup> Interestingly, at least the preserved sections of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 seem to show no interest in the notion of angelic praise or joint human-angelic praise, a belief otherwise widely attested in the Qumran movement and that is alluded to also in several Thanksgiving Psalms.<sup>631</sup>

Yet another way in which the recitation of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 could relate to the transmission of divine knowledge concerns attainment of the suitable spiritual state for transmitting divine knowledge. To this end, the psalm offers a model concerning the tasks of the sage. By reciting the psalm, the sage could identify with the speaking “I” who has received the divine words from God that have enabled him to act as both teacher and exemplary in prayer. Therefore, the recitation of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 could inspire the sage to produce further teachings and words of praise.

In summary, this section demonstrates that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, supposedly divine knowledge could be acquired through the interpretation of various earlier traditions, including psalms, prophetic books, and wisdom instruction. This Thanksgiving Psalm demonstrates a well-known exegetical practice, that of bringing together various older passages of lexical similarity. Such interpretation is considered inspired, because, according to the psalm, such knowledge is received through divine revelation. This inspired interpretation of earlier traditions could have been mediated in written or oral form. Manuscript evidence demonstrates that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 and the mysteries it contains were mediated at least when the psalm was copied by scribes. The mysteries could also have been transmitted orally by a sage who would have recited the psalm to his pupils. This access to the mysteries of creation was held to be of importance, because it constituted part of the dialogue between God and his elect. That is, God was believed to reveal the mysteries of creation, which in turn enabled the speaker and the elect to praise God as creator and recount his mighty deeds. Thus, the transmission of divine knowledge is closely related to praising God in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. Additionally, recitation of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 could have prepared the sage for his role as mediator of divine knowledge. By reciting the psalm, the sage learned about his role as one who

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<sup>629</sup> In some Greek manuscripts of Sirach, the ability to praise God is restricted to the elect; Pajunen, “The Praise of God,” 483.

<sup>630</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, Israel is not mentioned, but “those who know God” could refer to the whole of Israel. However, based on the other Thanksgiving Psalms, the division is drawn within Israel, not between Israel and the other nations. Concerning the elect, see also Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 297; Ben-Dov, “Language,” 251.

<sup>631</sup> Cf. 4.4, below.

had been taught by God and who could teach others and praise God as creator with the rest of the elect. Therefore, there are several ways in which the transmission of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 could have related to the practice of divination.

Table 14. Inspired Interpretation of Earlier Traditions in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 (Similarities Highlighted)

| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 9:10b–12a   | Zechariah 12:1 <sup>632</sup>   |
|--|---|
| <p>אתה יצרתה 11 כול רוח<br/>         ופעולת[ם הכינות]ה<br/>         ומשפט לכול מעשיהם<br/>         ואתה נטיתה שמים 12 לכבודכה<br/>         You formed 11. every spirit,<br/>         and [their] work [you determin]ed,<br/>         and the judgment for all their deeds.<br/>         You yourself stretched out the heavens 12. for<br/>         your glory</p>       | <p>1 מִשָּׁא דְּבִרְיָהוּהָ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶאֱמַר־יְהוָה נָטָה שָׁמַיִם<br/>         וַיִּסַּד אֶרֶץ וַיַּצֵּר רוּחַ־אָדָם בְּקִרְבּוֹ<br/>         The word of the Lord concerning Israel: Thus<br/>         says the Lord, who stretched out the heavens<br/>         and founded the earth and formed the human<br/>         spirit within:</p> |
| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 9:17b–18a   |   |
| <p>[ לְרוּחַ אָדָם אֲשֶׁר יִצְרֶת בְּתֵבֶל לְכִל יְמֵי עוֹלָם<br/>         18 וּדְרוֹת נֶצַח לִמְ [ ל<br/>         for the human spirit that you fashioned in the<br/>         world for all the days of eternity 18. and<br/>         everlasting generations for m[...]/</p>   |   |
| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 9:11b–17a   | Psalms 104:4 <sup>633</sup>   |
| <p>ואתה נטיתה שמים 12 לכבודכה<br/>         וְכֹל [ ה ] כִּינּוֹתָה לְרִצּוֹנָכָה<br/>         וְרוּחוֹת עֹז לְחֻקֵּיהֶם<br/>         בִּטְרָם 13 הֵיוּתָם לְמַלְאכֵי קָן וְדֹשׁ<br/>         ו [ ה ] לְרוּחוֹת עוֹלָם בְּמַמְשֻׁלּוֹתָם<br/>         מְאֻרוֹת לְרִזְיָהֶם<br/>         14 כּוֹכְבִּים לְנִתִּיבוֹתָיִם<br/>         וְרוּחוֹת סֶעַר [ ה ] לְמִשְׁאֵם</p> | <p>4 עֲשֵׂה מְלָאכֵינוּ רוּחוֹת מְשִׁרְתֵּינוּ אֵשׁ לִהְיוֹת<br/>         you make the winds your messengers,<br/>         fire and flame your ministers.<sup>634</sup></p>   |

<sup>632</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 212–13, 220.

<sup>633</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 217. Enwolde studies the use of Psalms in the Thanksgiving Psalms but does not examine the possibility that Ps 104 might have been interpreted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. On the use of Psalms in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, see John Enwolde, “The Hodayot’s Use of the Psalter: Text-critical Contributions (Book 3: Pss 73–89),” *DSD* 17 (2010): 160–61, 178; John Enwolde, “The Hodayot’s Use of the Psalter: Text-critical Contributions (Book 2: Pss 42–72),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and Cultures*, ed. A. Lange et al.; SupVT 140/1 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 84–86; John Enwolde, “The Hodayot’s Use of the Psalter: Text-critical Contributions (Book 4: Pss 90–106),” in *The Scrolls and Biblical Tradition: Proceedings of the Seventh Meeting of the IQQS in Helsinki*, ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; STDJ 103 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 72.

<sup>634</sup> The third-person singular suffixes are emended to second person singular in the NRSV translation.

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| <p>זקים וברקים לעבודתם<br/>ואוצרות 15 מחשבת לחפציה]ם<br/>○ לרזיהם<br/>אתה בראתה ארץ {ב} בכוחה<br/>16 ימים ותהומות עשׂי]תה בעוזכה<br/>ומח]שביהם הכינותה בחוכמתה<br/>וכיל אשר במ 17 תכ]נ]תה לרצונך]ה<br/>You yourself stretched out the heavens 12. for<br/>your glory,<br/>and all ○[...] you [de]termined according to<br/>your will,<br/>and powerful spirits according to their laws,<br/>before 13. they came to be ho[ly] angels<br/>[and ...]m eternal spirits in their dominions:<br/>luminaries according to their mysteries,<br/>14. stars according to [their] paths,<br/>[stor]m [winds] according to their task,<br/>shooting stars and lightning according to their<br/>service,<br/>and storehouses 15. devised for th[eir]<br/>purposes<br/>[...]○ according to their mysteries.<br/>You yourself created earth through your<br/>strength,<br/>16. the seas and the deeps [you] made<br/>[through your might<br/>and] their [de]signs you established through<br/>your wisdom,<br/>and all that is in them 17. you set in or[der]<br/>according to your will [...]</p> | <p><b>Jeremiah 10:12–13 (= Jer 51:15–16)<sup>635</sup></b></p> <p>12 עֲשֵׂה אֶרֶץ בְּכֹחוֹ מִכֵּן תִּבְל בְּחֻכְמָתוֹ וּבְתַבּוּנָתוֹ<br/>נִטָּה שָׁמַיִם:<br/>13 לְקוֹל תִּתָּו הַמָּזוֹן מֵיִם בְּשָׁמַיִם וַיַּעֲלֶה נְשָׂאִים מִקְצֶה<br/>אֶרֶץ* בְּרָקִים לְמִטָּר עֲשֵׂה וַיּוֹצֵא רוּחַ מֵאֲצֻרָתוֹ:<br/>12 It is he who made the earth by his power,<br/>who established the world by his wisdom,<br/>and by his understanding stretched out the<br/>heavens.<br/>13 When he utters his voice, there is a tumult<br/>of waters in the heavens,<br/>and he makes the mist rise from the ends of<br/>the earth.<br/>He makes lightning for the rain,<br/>and he brings out the wind from his<br/>storehouses.<br/><b>11Q5 26:13a–15 (Hymn to the Creator)</b><br/>ברוך עושה 14 ארץ בכוחו<br/>מכין תבל בחוכמתו<br/>בתבונתו נטה שמים<br/>ויוצא 15 [רוח] מאו]צרותיו<br/>ברקים למט]ר עשה<br/>ויעל נשיא]ים מ]קצה<br/>Blessed be He who<br/>14. by His might created the earth,<br/>who by His wisdom established the world.<br/>By His understanding He stretched forth the<br/>heavens<br/>and brought out 15. [the wind] from [His]<br/>treasure stores.]<br/>He created [lightning for the ra]in<br/>and [from] the end of [the earth] made<br/>vapour[s] to rise.</p> |
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<sup>635</sup> Lange argues that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:15–16 alludes also to Jeremiah 10:12; cf. below; Lange, “The Textual History,” 258. In *Weisheit und Prädestination* (218), Lange suggests that ארץ {ב} בכוחה in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:15 is influenced by Jer 32:17, where the expression וְאֶת־הָאָרֶץ בְּכֹחַךְ can be found. In my view, the influence of Jer 10:12 would explain the appearance of ארץ {ב} בכוחה in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:15.



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|                                | <p><b>Psalm 135:6–7</b></p> <p>כָּל אֲשֶׁר־חָפֵץ יְהוָה עָשָׂה בַשָּׁמַיִם וּבָאָרֶץ בַּיָּמִים וְכָל־<br/>תְּהוֹמוֹת:<br/>מַעַלְה נְשָׂאִים מִקְצֵה הָאָרֶץ בְּרָקִים לְמִטֵּר עָשָׂה מוֹצֵא־<br/>רוּחַ מֵאוֹצְרוֹתָיו:<br/> <sup>6</sup> Whatever the Lord pleases he does,<br/>in heaven and on earth,<br/>in the seas and all deeps.<br/>He it is who makes the clouds rise at the end<br/>of the earth;<br/>he makes lightning for the rain<br/>and brings out the wind from his storehouses.</p>  |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:23</b>    | <p><b>4Q417 1 i 2 (Instruction)<sup>636</sup></b></p> <p>23 אלה ידעתי מבינתכה<br/>כיא גליתה אוזני לרזי פלא<br/>         23. These things I know because of<br/>understanding which comes from you,<br/>for you have opened my ears to wondrous<br/>mysteries.</p> <p>2. [ ] gaze thou on, [And] on the wondrous<br/>myster[ies] of the God of the Awesome Ones<br/>thou shalt ponder. The beginnings of</p> <p><b>4Q417 1 i 13 (Instruction)<sup>637</sup></b></p> <p>ואז תדע בכבוד ע[ו]זו ע[ו]ם רזי פלאו וגבורות מעשיו<br/>         And then thou shalt know about the glory of<br/>[His] m[ight, Toge]ther with His marvellous<br/>mysteries and the mighty acts He has wrought.</p>  |
| <b>1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:25–26</b> | <p><b>4Q417 1 i 15–16 (Instruction)<sup>638</sup></b></p> <p>הכול 26 חקוק לפניכה בחרת זכרון<br/>לכול קצי נצח ותקופות מספר שני עולם בכול<br/>מועדיהם<br/>         כי חרות מחוקק לאל על כול ע[ו]ם [ ] בני שות<br/>וספר זכרון כתוב לפניו<br/>לשמרי דברו והוא חזון ההגוי לספר זכרון 16<br/>כ[י] אוינחילונו לאנוש עם ע[ו]ם רוח<br/>         15. For engraved is that which is ordained by<br/>God against all the ini[quities of] the children<br/>of שות And written in his presence is a book of<br/>memorial 16. of those who keep His word. And<br/>that is the appearance/ vision of the<br/>meditation on a book of memorial. And He/<br/>שות gave it as an inheritance to Man/Enosh<br/>together with a spiritual people.</p> <p>Everything 26. is engraved before you in an<br/>inscription of record for all the everlasting<br/>seasons and the numbered cycles of the<br/>eternal years with all their appointed times.</p> |

<sup>636</sup> Goff, "Reading Wisdom," 274. The Hebrew text and English translation of Instruction is given according to Strugnell et al., *Qumran Cave 4*.

<sup>637</sup> Goff, "Reading Wisdom," 274.

<sup>638</sup> Cf. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 230.

| 1QH <sup>a</sup> 9:28–29  | 4Q417 1 i 8 (Instruction) <sup>639</sup>   |
|---|--|
| <p>לכה אתה אל הדעות כול מעשי הצדקה 29 וסוד האמת</p> <p>To you, <b>God of knowledge</b>, belong all righteous deeds 29. and <b>true counsel</b>.</p> | <p>ואז תדע בין [טו]ב ל[רע] כ[מַעֲשֵׂי]הם [כִּי]א אל הדעות סוד אמת</p> <p>Then thou shalt discern between the [goo]d and [evil according to their] deeds. For the <b>God of knowledge</b> is the <b>foundation of truth</b></p> |

#### 4.3 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36<sup>640</sup>

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|---|--|
| <p>29. <i>vacat</i> אֲדַכְּ [ה אדו]נִי<br/> כי השכלתני באמתכה<br/> 30 וברזי פלאֶכָּה הודעתני<br/> ובחסדיכה לאיש [פשע]<br/> וְבָרוּב רַחֲמִיכָה לְנַעֲוִי לֵב<br/> 31 כִּי מִי כְמוֹכָה בָּאֵלִים אֲדוֹנִי<br/> ומי כאמתכה<br/> ומי יצִדֵּק לַפְּנִיכָה בַּהֲשַׁפְטוֹ<br/> ואין 32 לְהַשִּׁיב עַל תּוֹכַחְתְּכָה כּוֹל צַב־עִי<sup>641</sup> רֹחַ<br/> ולא יוכל כול להתיצב לַפְּנֵי ח-כ}מתדה<br/> וכול בני 33 אמתכה תביא בסליחות לפניכה<br/> לְטָהֳרָם מִפְּשָׁעֵיהֶם בְּרֹב טוֹבָכָה וּבַהֲמוֹן רַחֲמִיכָה<br/> 34 לְהַעֲמִידֵם לַפְּנִיכָה לְעוֹלָמִי עַד<br/> כי אל עולם אתה וכול דרכיכה יכוננו לנצח 35 נְצַחִים<br/> ואין זולתכה<br/> ומה הוא איש תהו ובעל הבל<br/> לְהַתְּבוֹנֵן בְּמַעֲשֵׂי פִּלְאֵךְ 36 הַגְּדוֹלִים <i>vacat</i></p> | <p>29. <i>vacat</i> I thank yo[u, O Lor]d,<br/> that you have instructed me in your truth,<br/> 30. and made known to me your wondrous<br/> mysteries,<br/> and (made known) both your kindness toward<br/> a [sinful] person<br/> and your abundant compassion for the one<br/> whose heart is perverted.<br/> 31. Indeed, who is like you among the gods, O<br/> Lord?<br/> Who has truth like yours?<br/> Who can be righteous before you when he is<br/> judged?<br/> There is no 32. utterance of the breath to offer<br/> in reply to your rebuke,<br/> and none is able to stand before your wrath.<br/> But all the children of 33. your truth you bring<br/> before you in forgiveness<br/> to cleanse them from their transgressions<br/> through your great goodness,<br/> and your overflowing compassion<br/> 34. to station them before you for ever and<br/> ever.<br/> For you are eternal God,<br/> and all your ways are established from age to<br/> 35. age,<br/> and there is none apart from you.<br/> And so, what is a person of nothingness and a<br/> possessor of vanity<br/> that he should contemplate your wondrous 36.<br/> great works? <i>vacat</i></p> |
|---|--|

<sup>639</sup> Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination*, 226. When Lange's book was published, 4Q417 1 i was known as 4Q417 2 i.

<sup>640</sup> The Hebrew text is given according to Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, and the English translation is given according to Schuller & Newsom, *The Hodayot*. However, I have divided the text into sections, stanzas, and verses myself. Concerning the principles for delimiting sections in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. 1.4, above. Parts of this psalm are preserved also in 4QH<sup>b</sup> and 4Qpaph<sup>f</sup>; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 198, 200.

<sup>641</sup> Stegemann suggests that צב-עי should be read as מבעי or מבעי; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 215.

#### 4.3.1 Structure and Content

1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36 is a notably short Thanksgiving Psalm, comprising only eight lines long. The psalm begins with an indentation and with the partly reconstructed opening rubric אֲדוֹכָהּ [ה אֲדוֹכָהּ] and ends with a blank space. The psalm is further structured around three כִּי clauses (cf. 1QH 15:29, 31, 34), the final one of which begins after a small blank space (cf. 1QH 15:34).

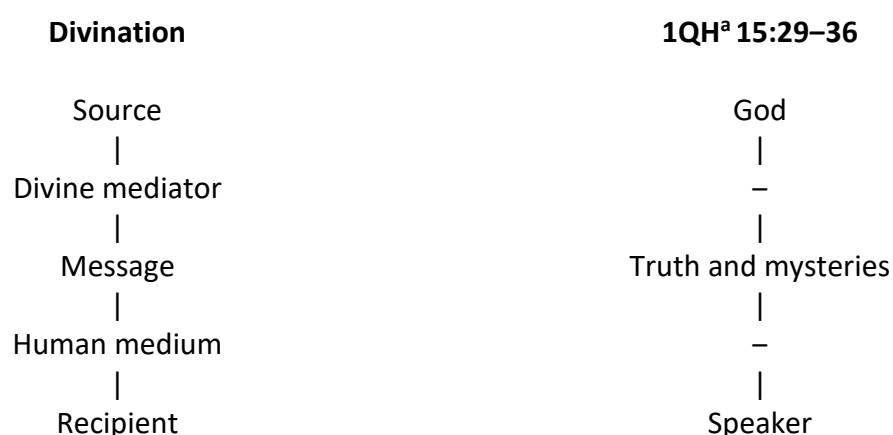
As in the other six sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, the speaker of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36 depicts himself as having access to divine knowledge. He gives thanks to God for instructing him in truth and making known to him God’s wondrous mysteries, kindness, and compassion (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–30). Use of older traditions may be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:30, where the term “perverted heart” (נַעֲוֵי לֵב) recalls Proverbs 12:8. The association with Proverbs 12:8 is strengthened by the use of the root שָׁכַל, which appears in both passages,<sup>642</sup> albeit expressing different understandings of human nature. In Proverbs, God is said to be ashamed of those who do not have understanding, those whose hearts are perverted. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–30, on the other hand, the speaker expresses his belief that he has a perverted heart, yet God has given him instruction.

In this psalm, nothing seems to indicate that the speaker acts as a mediator of divine knowledge, nor is he referred to as a teacher. A larger group of people, “the children of your truth” (בְּנֵי אֱמֶתָה) are mentioned in the psalm (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:32–33), but the speaker is not depicted as a mediator between them and God. In fact, “the children of your truth” are not portrayed as recipients of divine knowledge at all, unlike in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5 (cf. below; 4.1.1, above). Thus, it can be concluded that, in this psalm, the speaker does not understand himself as a mediator of divine knowledge but merely as a recipient of divine knowledge. In this respect, the psalm resembles two other sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6.

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<sup>642</sup> Prov 12:8: לִפְיִי־שָׁכַלְוּ יִהְיֶה־לִּי־אִישׁ וְנַעֲוָה־לֵב יִהְיֶה לְבוֹ. This expression does not appear in other Thanksgiving Psalms, but, for references to a “perverted spirit,” cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:32; 8:18; 11:22; 19:15.

Table 15. Transmission of Divine Knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36



At the very end of the psalm, the speaker contemplates (התבונן) God’s wondrous great works (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:35–36), able to do so perhaps because God has granted him divine knowledge. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:30, God’s kindness and compassion are juxtaposed with the wondrous mysteries that are all made known to the speaker. Such kindness and compassion seem to relate to God’s deliverance of his people from his punishment. According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:32, no one can stand before God’s wrath, but, because God is forgiving and compassionate, he purifies the children of his truth and stations them before him where they stand forever and ever (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:33b–34a). This act of compassion is perhaps drawn from Exodus, as the question “who is like you among the gods, O Lord?” (מי כמוכה) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:31 can also be found in Moses’s song, where God is praised for delivering the Israelites from the hands of the Egyptians (Exod 15:11).<sup>643</sup>

Altogether, how purification, standing before God, and divine judgment are described in this psalm does bear similarity with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6. However, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6, these themes are linked more closely with the granting of divine knowledge than in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36. My analysis of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 is presented in the following section.

<sup>643</sup> Exod 15:11: *מי כמוכה באלים יהוה מי כמכה נאדר בקדש נורא תהלת עשה פלא*. However, the tetragrammaton is not used in the Thanksgiving Psalms. Cf. Holm-Nielsen (*Hodayot*, 140), who expresses caution about drawing conclusion about an intentional allusion, as similar phrases can also be found in Isa 40–55. On the similarities with 4Q381 IV–V and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36, cf. Pajunen, *The Land*, 180–81.

**First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–17**  
Opening strophe (19:6a)

6 אֲוֹדָכָה אֵלִי  
כִּי הִפְלִתָה עִם עֶפֶר  
וּבִיצֵר חֹמֶר הִגְבַּרְתָּה מוֹדָה מוֹדָה

**First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–17**  
Opening strophe (19:6a)

6. I thank You, O my God,  
that you have acted wonderfully with dust,  
and with a vessel of clay you have worked so  
very powerfully.

Stanza 1A (19:6b–10a)

וְאֲנִי מֶה  
כִּי אֶתְּ 7 [הַ] בִּינּוֹתָנִי בְּסוֹד אִמְתְּכָה  
וּתְשַׁכִּילֵנִי בְּמַעֲשֵׂי פִלָּאָה  
וּתְתֵן בִּפִּי הוֹדוֹת  
וּבְלִשׁוֹנִי 8 תְּ[הַ]לָּה  
וּמִזֶּל שְׁפָתַי בְּמִכּוֹן רִנָּה  
וְאִזְמֶרָה בְּחִסְדִּיכָה  
וּבִגְבוּרַתְכָה אֲשׁוּחַחָה כֹּל 9 הַיּוֹם  
תָּמִיד אֲבָרְכָה שְׁמֶכָה  
וְאֶסְפָּרָה כְּבוֹדְכָה בְּתוֹךְ בְּנֵי אָדָם  
וּבְרֹב טוֹבָכָה 10 תִּשְׁתַּעֲשַׂע נַפְשִׁי

Stanza 1A (19:6b–10a)

What am I  
that 7. you have [inst]ructed me in the secret  
counsel of your truth,  
and that you have given me insight into Your  
wondrous deeds,  
that you have put thanksgiving in my mouth  
and pr[ai]se upon my tongue,  
8. and (made) the utterance of my lips as the  
foundation of jubilation,  
so that I might sing of your kindness  
and reflect on your strength all 9. day?  
Continually I bless your name,  
and I will recount your glory in the midst of  
humankind.  
In your great goodness 10. my soul delights.

Stanza 1B (19:10b–13a)

וְאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי  
כִּי אִמְתּ פִּיכָה  
וּבִידְכָה צִדְקָה  
וּבְמַחֲשַׁבְתְּכָה 11 כֹּל דַּעַת  
וּבְכּוֹחְכָה כֹּל גְּבוּרָה  
וְכֹל כְּבוֹד אִתְּכָה הוּא  
בְּאַפְכָה כֹּל מִשְׁפָּטִי נָגַע  
12 וּבְטוֹבָכָה רֹב סְלִיחוֹת  
וּרְחִימָיִךָ לְכֹל בְּנֵי רְצוֹנְכָה

Stanza 1B (19:10b–13a)

I know  
that your command is truth,  
that in your hand is righteousness,  
in your thoughts 11. all knowledge,  
in your strength all power,  
and that all glory is with you.  
In your anger are all the punishing judgments,  
12. but in your goodness is abundant  
forgiveness,  
and your compassion is for all the children of  
your good favor.

<sup>644</sup> The Hebrew text is given according to Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, and the English translation is given according to Schuller & Newsom, *The Hodayot*. However, I have divided the text into sections, stanzas, and verses myself. Concerning the principles for delimiting sections in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. 1.4, above.

כי הודעתם בסוד אמתכה  
13 וברזי פלאכה השכלתם

Truly, you have made known to them the  
secret counsel of your truth  
13. and given them insight into your wonderful  
mysteries.

Stanza 1C (19:13b–17)

Stanza 1C (19:13b–17)

ולמען כבודכה טהרתה אנוש מפשע  
להתקדש 14 לכה מכול תועבות נדה ואשמת מעל  
להוחד עֵם בני אמתך ובגורל עֵם 15 קדושיכה  
להרים מעפר תולעת מתים לסוד אֵ[מתכה]  
ומרוח נעוה לבינתכָה  
16 ולהתיצב במעמד לפניכה עם צבא עד ורוחו[ת]  
[עולם]  
ולתחדש עם כול הֵ[וזה] 17 וְנָהִיָּה ועם ידעים ביחד  
[ רנה ] *vacat*

For the sake of your glory you have purified a  
mortal from sin,  
so that he may sanctify himself 14. for you  
from all impure abominations and from  
faithless guilt,  
so that he might be united with the children of  
your truth and in the lot with 15. your holy  
ones,  
so that a corpse-infesting maggot might be  
raised up from the dust to the council of [your]  
t[ruth],  
and from a spirit of perversion to the  
understanding that comes from you,  
16. and so that he may take (his) place before  
you with the eternal host and the [eternal]  
spirit[s],  
and so that he may be renewed together with  
all that i[s] 17. and will be and with those who  
have knowledge in a common rejoicing. *vacat*  
[...]

**Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18–30a**

**Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18–30a**

Stanza 2A (19:18–21)

Stanza 2A (19:18–21)

[ואנ]ִי אודכה אלי  
ארוממכה צורי  
[ ] 19 [ ] ובהפלא  
כִּי הִודַעְתָּנִי סוד אמת  
וְבָרַזְתָּנִי פלא השכלתני  
והבינותני בנפלאותיכה  
20 [ונס]תְּרֹותֶיכָה גליתָה לי  
ואביט בְּ[ ] יִי חסד  
ואדעה 21 [כ]ִּי לכה הצדק  
ובחסדיכה ישפֹּט[ו]  
וְכָלָה בלוא רחמיך

18. [And as for me,] I thank you, O my God,  
I exalt you, my rock,  
and when you act wondrously [...] 19. [...] that you have made known to me the secret  
counsel of truth  
[and you have given me insight] into  
[wonderful] myster[ies],  
and you have let me understand you  
wonders,]  
20. [and] your hidden things you have revealed  
to me,  
so that I have gazed upon [...]...y kindness.  
I know 21. [th]at righteousness belongs to you,  
and by your kindness [they] are judged [...]h  
and destruction without your compassion.

Stanza 2B (19:22–25a)

22 וְאֲנִי נִפְתַּח לִי מִקּוֹר לֵאבָל מִרּוּרִים [ ]  
 וְלֹא נִסְתַּר עֵמֶל מֵעֵינַי  
 23 בַּדַּעַתִּי יִצְרִי גִבֹּר  
 וְתִשׁוּבַת אָנוּשׁ אֶתְּ בּוֹנֵנָה  
 וְאִכִּירָה אֶ[בְּ]ל חֲטָאָה וִיגוֹן 24 אֲשֵׁמָה  
 וִיבֹאוּ בִלְבָבִי וִיגוֹן בְּעֲצְמִי לֹ[ ]<sup>645</sup>  
 וְלִהְיוֹת הָגִי  
 25a וְאִנְחָה בִּכְנֹר קִינָה לְכוֹל אֶבֶל יִגְ[וֹ]ן [ ]<sup>645</sup>  
 25 יגון ומספד מרורים עד כלות עולה  
 וְאֶ[יִן] מְכָאוֹב [ ]  
 וְאִין נִגַּע לְהַחֲלוֹת

Stanza 2B (19:22–25a)

22. As for me, a fount of bitter mourning was  
 opened to me [...]  
 and trouble was not hidden from my eyes  
 23. when I knew the inclinations of humans  
 and I un[derstood] to what mortals return,  
 [and I recognized the mour]nfulness of sin and  
 the anguish of 24. guilt.  
 They enter into my heart and penetrate my  
 bones °/[...]°ym  
 and to utter an agonized moan  
 25a. and a groan to the lyre of lamentation for  
 all gr[iev]ous mourning [...] <sup>648</sup>  
 25. and bitter lament until the destruction of  
 iniquity,  
 when there is n[o more pain]  
 and no more affliction to make one weak.

Stanza 2C (19:25b–30a)

וְאִז 26 אֲזַמְרָה בִּכְנֹר יִשׁוּעוֹת וְנִבֵּל שִׁמְחָה  
 וְתוֹף גִּי[לָה] וְחִלְלִי תִהְיֶה לְאִין 27 הַשִּׁבְתָּ  
 וּמִי בְכוֹל מַעֲשִׂיכָה יֻכַּל לִסְפֹּר כֹּו[ל] נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ  
 בְּפִי כוֹלֵם יְהוֹלֵל 28 שִׁמְכָה  
 לְעוֹלָמִי עַד יִבְרַכּוּכָה כִּפִּי שְׂכָלָם  
 וּבְכוֹל קִצְ[ִים] יִשְׁמִיעוּ יַחַד 29 בְּקוֹל רִנָּה  
 וְאִין יִגוֹן וְאִנְחָה  
 וְעוֹלָה לְאֶ[תְּ]מַצָּא עוֹד  
 וְאִמְתַּכָּה תּוֹפִיעַ 30 לְכַבּוֹד עַד וְשָׁלוֹם עוֹלָם

Stanza 2C (19:25b–30a)

And then 26. I will sing upon the lyre of  
 salvation and to the harp of jo[y],  
 and timbrel of rejo[i]cing, and the flute of  
 praise without 27. ceasing.  
 Who among all your creatures will be able to  
 recount al[l ] your [wonders]?  
 With every mouth your name will be praised.  
 28. For ever and ever they will bless you  
 according to [their] insight,  
 [and at all tim]es they will proclaim together  
 29. with a joyous voice.  
 There will be no sorrow or sighing,  
 and iniquity [will be found ] no [more].  
 Your truth will shine forth 30. for everlasting  
 glory and everlasting peace.

<sup>645</sup> The words were first omitted by homoioteleuton then added interlinearly; Schuller, "Hodayot," 90.

<sup>648</sup> L. 25a is written between ll. 24 and 25.

Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30b–20:6

Stanza 3A (19:30b–31)

ברוך אתה [אדוני  
אשר נתתה לעבדך 31 שכל דעה להבין  
בנפלאותיכה  
ו[מ]ע[נה לשון ל]ספר ברוב חסדיכה

Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30b–20:6

Stanza 3A (19:30b–31)

Blessed are you, [O Lord,  
w]ho have given to your servant 31. insightful  
knowledge to understand Your wondrous  
works  
and [a ready an]sw[er in order to] tell of the  
abundance of your kindness.

Stanza 3B (19:32–35a)

32 ברוך אתה אל הרחמים וה'נינה  
כגדו[ל] כ[י] חכה ורוב אמתכה  
והמו[ן] 33 חסדיכה בכול מעשיכה  
שמח נפש עבדכה באמתכה  
וטהרני 34 בצדקתכה  
כאשר יחלתי לטובכה  
ולחסדיכה אקוה  
ולסליחות[י] כה 35 פתחתה משיירי  
וביגוני נחמתי  
כיא נשנתי<sup>646</sup> ברחמיכה

Stanza 3B (19:32–35a)

32. Blessed are you, God of compassion and  
grace,  
according to the great[ness of] your st[ren]gth  
and the magnitude of your truth  
and the abundan[ce] 33. of your kindness  
with all your creatures.  
Gladden the soul of your servant through your  
truth  
and purify me 34. by your righteousness.  
Even as I waited for your goodness,  
so for your kindness I hope.  
By your forgivenes[s] 35. you relieve my pains,  
and in my troubles you comfort me,  
for I depend on your compassion.

Stanza 3C (19:35b–20:6)

ברוך אתה 36 אדוני  
כי אתה פעלתה אלה  
ותשם בפי עבדך הודות[ה] ל[ה]  
37 ותחנה ומענה לשון  
והכינותה לי פְעוּל[ת]  
38 ואעצו[ר כוח] ל[י] ל[י] ל[י] ל[י]  
39 ואתה[ ]  
40 אמת[כה]  
41 וא[ ]  
42 ל[י] ל[י] ל[י] ל[י]  
20:1-3 [ ]  
4 [ ] ל[י] ל[י] ל[י] ל[י]

Stanza 3C (19:35b–20:6)

Blessed are yo[u,] 36. O Lord,  
for you have done these things,  
and you have put into the mouth of your  
servant hymns of pr[a]is[e  
37. and a prayer of supplication, and a ready  
answer.  
You have established for me the wor[k of ...]  
38. And I reta[in strength] / [...]b [...] / [...]° [...]°  
39. And you [...]°  
40. [your] truth[...]  
41. and '[...]  
42. °° [...]°  
20:1-3. [...]°  
4. [...]° ° [...]° [...]° my soul expands [...]° / [...]°  
[...]° [...]°

<sup>646</sup> This a scribal error—probably, נשענתי was meant; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 247.



|   |  |  |
|---|--|--|
| 5 | הַ בְּשִׂמְחָה וְשִׂשְׁוֹן<br>וְאֶשְׁמַח הָ לִבְטָח בְּמַעֲוֵן<br>שְׁלֹמֶה קוֹדֵשׁ בְּשִׁשְׁוֹן קֶטֶט <sup>647</sup> | 5. [... h] with rejoicing and [joy].<br>And I will dwell securely in a ho[ly] dwelling,<br>[in] a {pea[ceful]} dwelling in quiet and ease, |
| 6 | וְשִׁלּוֹה<br>בְּשִׁלּוֹה וְבִרְכָּה בְּאֵהֱלֵי כְבוֹד וְיִשׁוּעָה<br>וְאֶהְלֵל שְׁמֶכָּה בְּתוֹךְ יֹרְאֵיכָה        | 6. [in peac]e and blessing in the tents of glory<br>and deliverance.<br>I will praise your name in the midst of those<br>who fear you.     |

#### 4.4.1 Structure and Content

The psalm 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 begins at the beginning of line 6, with most of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:5 left blank. The opening rubric of the psalm, אודכה אלי, resembles the common opening rubric אודכה אדוני but is otherwise unique among the Thanksgiving Psalms. The manuscript was copied by three different scribes: scribe A copied the manuscript until the middle of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:25, scribe B copied only until the fourth word of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:29, and scribe C copied the rest of the manuscript.<sup>649</sup>

Before the material reconstruction of 1QH<sup>a</sup> was published, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 was commonly divided into several short psalms. Possible incipits can be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18, 30, 32, and 35 that preserve either the phrase אודכה אלי or ברוך אתה.<sup>650</sup> Especially 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:17–18 resembles the beginning of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 because of the long blank space in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:17 and the use of אודכה אלי in the following line. Despite these similarities, Stegemann argues that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18 begins only a subsection within the psalm. This is for several reasons. First, 4QH<sup>a</sup> (4Q427) does not indicate psalm division at this point. In addition, there seems to be an additional word before the word אודכה, making it unlikely that a new psalm would have begun in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18. While Stegemann reconstructs the word וְאֵן to fit between the right margin and the word אודכה, it should be noted that וְאֵן אודכה אלי is awkwardly phrased and unique in the Thanksgiving Psalms. According to Stegemann, it is also possible that the blank space in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:17 was originally shorter and that a new subsection began already at the end of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:17. However, this is mere speculation, as the end of the line 17 is broken.<sup>651</sup>

<sup>647</sup> For the different readings in 4QH<sup>a</sup> and 4QH<sup>b</sup>, cf. Schuller, “Hodayot,” 92–93.

<sup>649</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 241–42.

<sup>650</sup> Cf., e.g., Holm-Nielsen, “Hodayot,” 109; Puech, *La croyance*, 375–84; Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 109–19.

<sup>651</sup> Stegemann, “The Number,” 216–17.

Another potential psalm incipit is in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30, where there is a short blank space, with the phrase **ברוך אתה** appearing in the middle of the line. However, because scribe C begins new psalms at the beginning of a new line instead of in the middle, **ברוך אתה** probably indicates the beginning of a subsection. The phrase **ברוך אתה** appears twice more, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:32 and 35. Because these phrases are not accompanied with blank spaces, however, it is highly unlikely that they would be psalm incipits. Furthermore, the first two **ברוך אתה** sections (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30b–31, 32–35) are too short to be independent psalms. Finally, it is unlikely that the third **ברוך אתה** section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:36–20:6) is an independent psalm, as it refers to what has been said earlier (cf. the word **אלה** in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:36).<sup>652</sup>

To conclude, it is likely that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 is one long psalm instead of several shorter ones. The blank spaces as well as the phrases **ואני** [ואנ] <sup>י</sup>אודכה אלי (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:17–18) and **ברוך אתה** (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30) divide the psalm into three sections. In addition, the psalm is structured around the use of independent pronouns, which divide the sections into stanzas. Closer analysis of the structure and the content of the psalm reveals that each section can be divided into three stanzas.<sup>653</sup> The psalm is also structured by the repetition of certain themes and key words, such that there are parallels between stanzas 1A, 2A and 3A, as well as between stanzas 1B and 3B.

#### **First section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–17<sup>654</sup>**

Opening strophe (19:6a)

|                        |                         |                              |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Stanza 1A (19:6b–10a)  | Reason for thanksgiving | Begins with <b>אודכה אלי</b> |
| Stanza 1B (19:10b–13a) | Reason for praise       | Begins with <b>ואני</b>      |
| Stanza 1C (19:13b–17)  | Knowing God             | Begins with <b>ואני</b>      |
|                        | Entering the community  | Begins with <b>ולמען</b>     |
|                        |                         | Ends with <i>vacat</i>       |

#### **Second section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18–30a**

|                        |                              |                                      |
|------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Stanza 2A (19:18–21)   | Reason for praise            | Begins with <b>ואני</b> <sup>י</sup> |
| Stanza 2B (19:22–25a)  | Inclinations of human beings | Begins with <b>ואני</b>              |
| Stanza 2C (19:25b–30a) |                              |                                      |

<sup>652</sup> Stegemann, “The Number,” 217–19. On the use of **אלה** in the Thanksgiving Psalms, see 1.4, above.

<sup>653</sup> Puech, who treats 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–17 as an independent psalm, notes how these three stanzas are of equal length; Puech, *La croyance*, 375–76.

<sup>654</sup> Kittel likewise divides 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–17 into three stanzas with an introduction. Note, however, that she treats 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–17 as an independent psalm; Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 109–19.

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
|  | Whole creation will praise God                 | Begins with וַאֲז <sup>655</sup><br>Ends with a short <i>vacat</i> |
| <b>Third section 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30b–20:6</b> |  |  |
| Stanza 3A (19:30b–31)                            | First Blessing: Giving knowledge               | Begins with בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה  |
| Stanza 3B (19:32–35a)                            | Second Blessing: Knowing God                   | Begins with בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה  |
| Stanza 3C (19:35b–20:6)                          | Third Blessing: Praise<br>(+ fragmentary text) | Begins with בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה [ה]                                    |

Throughout 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6, the revelation of divine knowledge and the ability to praise God are described as being interrelated. According to stanza 1A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6b–10a), the speaker has been taught by God about the divine plan, God being styled as a sage who “instructs” ([ה] בִּינּוֹתָנִי) and “gives insight” (תַּשְׁכִּילֵנִי). The object of knowing is described similarly as in other sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, God having taught the “counsel of your truth” (סֹד אֱמֶתְכֶּה) and “your wondrous deeds” (מַעֲשֵׂי פִלְאֵכֶה). In addition to divine insight, God has given words of praise to the speaker. Thus, the speaker can bless God and recount how wonderful he is. Stanzas 2A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18–21) and 3A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30b–31) likewise begin with a reference to God granting divine knowledge. Especially stanzas 1A and 3A share several words and verbal roots: שָׁכַל, בִּין, פִּלָּא, נָתַן, בָּרַךְ, לָשׁוֹן, חָסַד, סִפֵּר, בָּרַךְ. God is thanked for granting divine knowledge, which is considered an act of grace towards the human being who is nothing compared to God. Like the first section, the second and third sections of the psalm also relate knowledge to praising.

Stanza 1B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:10b–13a) ends with a reference to divine revelation, which forms an *inclusio* with the beginning of stanza 1A.<sup>656</sup> According to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:12, God has not revealed divine knowledge only to the speaker of the psalm but also to a wider group of people, called “the children of your good favor” (בְּנֵי רְצוֹנְכֶּה). The similarities in the description of this bestowal of divine knowledge in stanzas 1A and 1B suggests that the speaker is a member of this wider group.<sup>657</sup> However, the speaker does not depict himself as a mediator between God and the children of God’s favor, nor does the psalm refer to teachers or teaching or recounting the content of divine

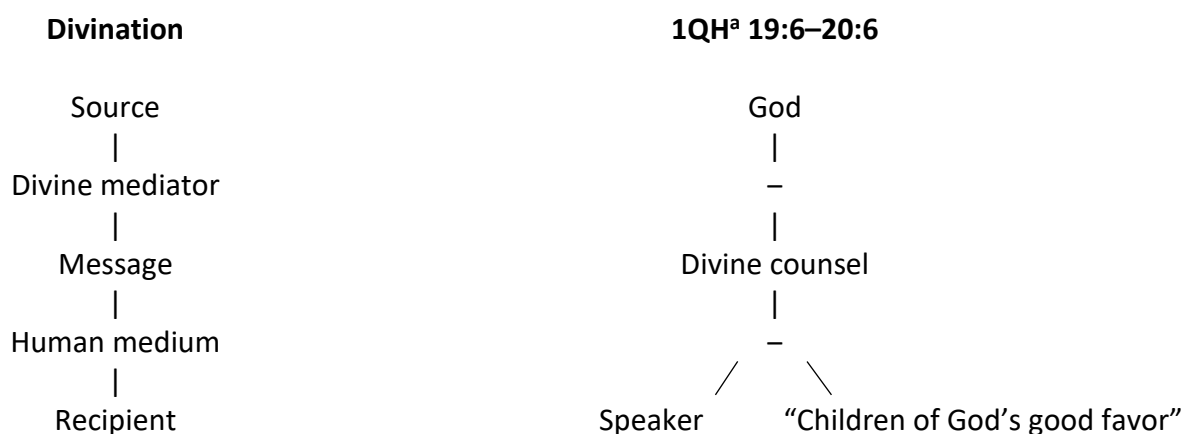
<sup>655</sup> Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 246.

<sup>656</sup> Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 113. Stanza 1B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:10b–13a) begins also with “I know that...” (וְאֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי) and continues with a recitation of the divine attributes. As Newsom notes, the phrase “I know that” without any reference to divine inspiration may simply indicate acknowledgement rather than divine revelation; cf. 3.3.1, above; Newsom, *The Self*, 211.

<sup>657</sup> The designation “the children of your good favor” refers to the elect also in Instruction (4Q418 81 10).

knowledge. Thus, I suggest that both the speaker and the wider group are instead depicted as direct recipients of divine knowledge, as in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5. The evidence found in stanza 1C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17) is also suggestive, as it refers to a “human being” (אנוש) that seems to represent the qualities of the larger community<sup>658</sup> and is exalted by God in order that he might participate in angelic-human worship in God’s council and gain access to divine knowledge. A detailed analysis of stanza 1C is presented below.

Table 16. Transmission of divine knowledge in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6



Stanza 2A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:18–21) begins with words of thanksgiving and praise. After a reference to God’s marvelous actions and a *lacuna* of approximately half a line in length, the text continues in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:19 with a reference to God having granted divine knowledge to the speaker.<sup>659</sup> If the reconstruction is correct, the stanza ends with some notion about God’s righteousness and compassion in his judgement. In stanza 2B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:22–25a), the speaker states that he has come to know the sinfulness of human beings,<sup>660</sup> the understanding of which causes the speaker physical pain and causes him to moan. The speaker portrays his experience by alluding to Jeremiah and Job,<sup>661</sup> saying that he will continue to lament until God has destroyed all iniquity. In stanzas 2B and

<sup>658</sup> Newsom finds it unclear whether the psalm refers to the experience of the speaker or to a more general experience; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot*<sup>a</sup>, 249.

<sup>659</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:19, God’s counsel (סוד) is juxtaposed with the mysteries (רזים). However, according to Thomas, the two words have distinct semantic ranges in most Qumran scrolls; Thomas, *The “Mysteries,”* 134.

<sup>660</sup> The phrase “inclinations of humans” (יצרי גבר) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:23 may allude to Gen 6:5, where God finds out that every inclination (יצר) of the human heart is evil. Likewise, “the return of mortals” (ותשובת אנוש) may allude to Gen 3:19, where the destiny of humans is depicted as a return (שוב) to ground and dust. However, similar imagery is employed also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:27–35; cf. 2.2.1, above.

<sup>661</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:22, the phrase “and a trouble was not hidden from my eyes” (וְלֹא נִסְתָּר עֵמֶל מֵעֵינַי) recalls Job 3:10: “because it (i.e., the day Job was born) did not shut the doors of my mother’s womb, and hide trouble from my eyes” (כִּי לֹא סָגַר דְּלֶתִי בְטֶנִי וַיִּסְתֵּר עֵמֶל מֵעֵינַי). In Job 3, Job laments the hardness of human life and curses the day he was born.

2C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:25b–30a), musical instruments such as the “lyre of lamentation” and “lyre of salvation” carry both negative and positive conditions. Stanza 2C depicts the eschatological future as a time of rejoicing, one without affliction and sorrow.<sup>662</sup> While only the speaker and the elect can bless God’s name (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:9–17) currently, in the eschatological future, the whole of creation will be able to praise God’s name. The speaker thus asks who among God’s creatures will be able to recount his wonders., to which the answer is “everyone.” That is, in the future, every mouth will bless God’s name, and they will praise him according to their insight (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:27–29).<sup>663</sup> This psalm thus resembles 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 in how it restricts the ability to praise God to an elect but differs in that it describes an eschatological time when all of creation will be able to praise God.

The third section (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30b–20:6) consists of a threefold blessing,<sup>664</sup> each stanza beginning with the blessing formula ברוך אתה. Unlike in other parts of the psalm, the speaker refers to himself as “your servant” (עבדכה). Stanza 3A (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30b–31) is notably short, the speaker blessing God for having granted him divine knowledge and for the ability to recount God’s kindness.<sup>665</sup> Stanza 3B (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:32–35a) begins with a recitation of divine attributes, characterizing God and his deeds (אמת, צדק, כוח, טוב, סליחות, and רחמים). The stanza shares several keywords with stanza 1B, both stanzas in turn resembling older recitations of divine attributes.<sup>666</sup> Finally, stanza 3C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:35b–20:6) is fragmentary: the first three lines of column 20 are missing, and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:38–42 and 20:4 preserve only a few words or letters.

As there is clear parallelism between stanzas 1A, 2A and 3A, as well as between stanzas 1B and 3B, it is worth investigating whether the C stanzas also share certain features. While there

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Another phrase that echoes the language of Job can be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:24, where the speaker states that “they (i.e., trouble, anguish of guilt, etc.) penetrated my bones” (ויגעו בַּעֲצָמִי). This expression recalls Job 2:5 (וַיִּגַע אֶל-עֲצָמוֹ), where Satan urges God to strike Job’s flesh and bones. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:25, on the other hand, “bitter lament” (מספד מרורים) comes close to the phrase found in Jer 6:26 (מִסְפָּד תִּמְרוּרִים), where Jeremiah urges people to mourn over the attack of the enemy. Holm-Nielsen has also suggested that Job 3:10 is referred to in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:22. For other suggestions, cf. Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 194–95.

<sup>662</sup> Holm-Nielsen suggests that the phrase “there is neither grief nor sighing” in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:29 is an allusion to Isa 35:10 = Isa 51:11; Holm-Nielsen, *Hodayot*, 195.

<sup>663</sup> Esther G. Chazon, “Lowly to Lofty: The Hodayot’s Use of Liturgical Traditions to Shape Sectarian Identity and Religious Traditions,” *RevQ* 101 (2013): 12–13.

<sup>664</sup> Opening and closing blessings were part of contemporary prayer practices; Chazon, “Liturgical Function,” 143.

<sup>665</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:30, 33, 36.

<sup>666</sup> The beginning of stanza 3B clearly alludes to Exod 34:6–7, where the thirteen divine attributes are also recited: God is depicted as “God of compassion and grace” (אל הרחמים והינינה), who is “abundant in truth and mercy” (ורוב אמתכה) (והמו[ן] חסדיכה); Chazon, “Lowly and Lofty”, 8–9. On the recitation of thirteen divine attributes, cf. 3.3.1, above.

are certainly no significant lexical parallels between stanzas 1C, 2C, and 3C, all C stanzas do contain the same theme: the praise of God. Stanza 1C depicts an angelic-human praise before God, and stanza 2C describes how all creation will praise God in the eschatological future. The preserved parts of stanza 3C in turn refer to God as the one who gives the words of praise, to the heavenly abode, and to praising God. The speaker begins stanza 3C by blessing God for doing “these things” and for giving the ability to pray and praise. “These things” (אלה) refers here probably to the revelation of divine knowledge and to the loving kindness of God towards the speaker, discussed in stanzas 3A and 3B. The text is better preserved again in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:5, where the speaker refers to rejoicing and to the heavenly abode, the latter of which is characterized as peaceful, quiet, and full of blessing. The psalm then ends with a promise to praise God’s name amidst those who fear him.<sup>667</sup>

#### 4.4.2 Wise Ones Praising in the Divine Council

The analysis of stanza 1C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17) gives an opportunity to further explore the interrelationship of the reception of divine knowledge and the praise of God. Within 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6, stanza 1C is distinct in terms of both form and content. God is depicted as transforming a mortal (אנוש) in order that he might stand before God with the divine beings. Despite the general designation “mortal,” it is reasonable to surmise that the word does not refer to every human being but to a privileged portion, because of the high status given by the psalm to the mortal.<sup>668</sup> The mortal may also be identified with the “children of your good favor,” mentioned at the end of the previous stanza (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:12). Stanza 1C begins with the statement that God has purified this mortal from sin. This statement is then followed by five consecutive infinite clauses that explain the effects of purification: (1) a mortal separates himself from abominations, (2) is united with other righteous and with the heavenly beings, (3) is lifted up to God’s council, (4) where he can stand before God with the divine beings, and (5) is renewed in common rejoicing.

Stanza 1C has a close parallel in another Thanksgiving Psalm, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–37,<sup>669</sup> a short psalm that deals with eschatology. At the beginning of this psalm (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–26), the speaker meditates upon God’s redemptive acts, after which he describes the destruction of the world and

<sup>667</sup> On the designation “those who fear you” (יראיכה), cf. 2.2.2, above; 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:17.

<sup>668</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:14; 9:34; 25:12–13, where אנוש seems also to refer to a privileged portion.

<sup>669</sup> For an analysis of the structure of the psalm, cf. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 208–13. For slightly different analyses, see Kittel, *The Hymns of Qumran*, 56–73; Puech, *La croyance*, 366–69.

the war of heavenly beings (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:27–37). Parallels with stanza 1C can be found in the first part of the psalm, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a.

Table 17. Lexical Parallels between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a (Similarities Highlighted)

| Stanza 1C (1QH <sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17)   | 1QH <sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a  |
|--|--|
| <p>ולמען כבודכה <b>טהרתה</b> אנוש <b>מפשע</b><br/> להתקדש 14 לכה מכול תועבות נדה ואשמת מעל<br/> להוחד עִם בני אמתך ובגורל עִם 15 קדושיכה<br/> להרים <b>מעפר</b> תולעת מתים לסוד א[מתכה]<br/> ומרוח נעוה לבינתכָה<br/> 16 ולהתיצב במעמד לפניכה עם צבא עד ורוחו[ת] עולם]<br/> ולתחדש עם כול ה[וזה] 17 וְנָהִיָּה<br/> ועם ידעים ביחד רנה <i>vacat</i></p>  | <p>ואדעה כיא<br/> יש מקוה לאשר 22 יצרתה <b>מעפר</b> לסוד עולם<br/> ורוח נעוה <b>טהרתה</b> <b>מפשע</b> רב<br/> להתיצב במעמד עם 23 צבא קדושים<br/> ולבוא ביחד עם עדת בני שמים<br/> ותפל לאיש גורל עולם עם רוחות 24 דעת<br/> להלל שמכה ביחד רנָה<br/> ולספר נפלאותיכה לנגד כול מעשיכה</p>   |
| <p>For the sake of your glory you have purified a mortal from sin,<br/> so that he may sanctify himself 14. for you from all impure abominations and from faithless guilt, so that he might be united with the children of your truth and in the lot with 15. your holy ones, so that a corpse-infesting maggot might be raised up from the dust to the council of [your] t[ruth], and from a spirit of perversion to the understanding that comes from you, 16. and so that he may take (his) place before you with the eternal host and the [eternal] spirit[s], and so that he may be renewed together with all that i[s] 17. and will be and with those who have knowledge in a common rejoicing. <i>vacat</i> [...]</p> | <p>I know that<br/> there is hope for one whom 22. you have formed from the dust for an eternal council. And a perverted spirit you have purified from great sin that it might take its place with 23. the host of the holy ones and enter into community with the congregation of the children of heaven. And you cast for a person an eternal lot with the spirits 24. of knowledge, that he might praise your name in a common rejoicing and recount your wonderful acts before all your works.</p> |

Both passages depict God purifying a human being in order that he might be united with the heavenly beings to praise God. As Table 17 shows, most lexical parallels appear between stanza 1C and two subsequent verses in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:22–23. Almost every word found in these two verses (רוח נעוה) has a parallel in stanza 1C, albeit in a different order: reference to God purifying from sin (טהרתה מפשע) appear at the beginning of stanza 1C, and, instead of a “perverted spirit” (רוח נעוה, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:22), God cleanses a “mortal” (אנוש, 1QH<sup>a</sup>

19:13),<sup>670</sup> though “perverted spirit” does appear later in stanza 1C (in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:15). The reference to “taking one’s place with the host” appears towards the end of stanza 1C, but, in stanza 1C, the host is not called a “host of the holy ones” (צבא קדושים), as in column 11, but an “eternal host” (צבא עד), which is paralleled with “spirit[s of eternity].” In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11, the spirits are not paralleled with the host, but a reference to “spirits of knowledge” (רוחות דעת) can be found in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:23–24. The two passages also share four other expressions: both passages (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:22; 19:15) depict a human being who is from dust (מעפר) but who is nevertheless given a place in God’s council (סוד). He is said to have the same lot (גורל) as the divine beings, called either the “holy ones” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:14–15) or the “spirits of knowledge” (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:23–24). Finally, a human being is depicted as participating in a “common rejoicing” (ביחד רנה).<sup>671</sup> In addition to these lexical parallels, there are also grammatical similarities between stanza 1C and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a. Both passages make use of consecutive infinitive clauses. Stanza 1C begins with a perfect that is followed by five infinitive clauses, while 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a begins with clauses in the perfect tense followed by two infinitive clauses. The next verse begins with in imperfect tense, followed again by two infinitival clauses.<sup>672</sup> Both passages are third-person singular accounts that begin as first-person singular accounts. Because of all these grammatical and lexical similarities between the two passages, it seems likely that one is dependent on the other. Because many of the shared expressions can be found in the two subsequent verses in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:22–23, I suggest that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a must be older than stanza 1C.<sup>673</sup>

There are also significant differences between the two passages. The passages appear in different contexts, with 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–37 focusing on eschatology and God’s salvific acts, while 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 emphasizes knowledge and the praise of God. Divinely revealed knowledge is more central to and more often referred to in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6, especially in stanza 1C, in comparison to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a. More specifically, in stanza 1C, knowledge is depicted as a part of the exalted status of a human being, with members of the common rejoicing even being called “children of your

<sup>670</sup> Cf. 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:38.

<sup>671</sup> In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:24, common rejoicing is explicitly related to praising and recounting, whereas, in stanza 1C, the phrase refers to a place of renewal.

<sup>672</sup> Cf. להתיצב (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:22), ולבוא (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:23), להלל (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:24), and ולספר (1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:24).

<sup>673</sup> Kuhn (*Enderwartung*, 80–85) and Puech (*La croyance*, 377) likewise argue that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a is older than stanza 1C.



truth” (בני אמתד) and “those who have knowledge” (ידעים). God’s council, to which the mortal made of dust has been elevated, is likewise called the “council of your truth” (סוד אמתכה).<sup>674</sup> This verse can be understood both literally and figuratively. God raises the mortal from the ground to his abode, but, as people are often called “dust” in the Thanksgiving Psalms, the status of the mortal changes from that of dust to that of one who has access to God’s counsel. The figurative meaning is strengthened by the next verse in its depiction of separation from a perverted spirit and emphasis that access to understanding comes from God (בינתכה). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a, on the other hand, divine knowledge is mentioned only in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:23–24, where the spirits are characterized as “spirits of knowledge.”<sup>675</sup> All in all, divine knowledge does not seem to play a significant role in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–37. While in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a, God’s redemptive acts are depicted as an object of knowledge for the speaker (ואדעה כיא), it is not stated that this knowledge originates from God. Instead, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–37 focuses on the perils of the wicked realm and on redemption through God. The speaker thus gives thanks to God, as elaborated further in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a: God’s redemption includes purification from sin and membership in a community that can praise God together with the divine beings.<sup>676</sup>

Scholars have debated to what extent stanza 1C and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a describe realized and future eschatology. Ken Penner argues that the two passages simultaneously express belief in realized and future eschatology by associating past and present with the future.<sup>677</sup> For example, “you have purified” (טהרתה) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13, in perfect tense, seems to refer to a past event. However, as the following *hithpael* (להתקדש) can be understood as either reflexive or passive, it is unclear whether the psalm is discussing purifying oneself when joining the earthly community or future purification by God. In the latter case, the perfect tense (טהרתה) might, in fact, be a prophetic

<sup>674</sup> Based on the ink traces, the most likely letter here is indeed *alef*. The phrase סוד אמת appears frequently in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19. *Ayin* would also be possible, but ע[ולם] would be too short to fill the *lacuna*; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 245.

<sup>675</sup> Spirits are referred to also in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:16 but instead of רוחות דעת, Stegemann and Schuller have reconstructed [רוח[ות] עולם]. Cf. the Hebrew text in 4.4, above.

<sup>676</sup> Hughes argues that the unifying factor in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:20–37 is its structural allusion to Ps 18:1–19. Although there are no lexical parallels between Ps 18:1–19 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a, it is worth noting that the idea that God lifts a human being from the depths to the heights and thus redeems the human being appears also in Ps 18:17, 20; Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions*, 220–22.

<sup>677</sup> Brooke also maintains that future eschatological beliefs are used to portray earthly experiences in the Thanksgiving Psalms. He analyzes only 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 in detail but argues that his approach applies also to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a and stanza 1C; Brooke, “The Structure,” 15–20, 33.

perfect, referring to future eschatological events. Similarly, the reference to union with the holy ones in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:14–15 could be interpreted as referring to the earthly community or to the angels. Penner argues that, until 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:16, the psalm refers primarily to earthly events but changes from the verb *ולהתיצב* onwards, as taking a place before God is primarily a future event. Likewise, renewal must refer to (future) eschatological restoration.

In outlining this interpretation, Penner criticizes the previous interpretations of Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn and Émile Puech. Kuhn claims that stanza 1C testifies, first and foremost, to the belief in present eschatological experience. Thus, all events portrayed in stanza 1C—purification, sanctification, being raised, union with angels before God, and renewal—were to take place already when joining the earthly community.<sup>678</sup> However, Penner criticizes Kuhn for basing his argument, for example, on flawed grammatical arguments and for ignoring the poetic structure of the stanza. Puech, on the other hand, argues that the psalm refers to future eschatology. In his view, the perfects in 1C and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a are salvation perfects that refer to future action.<sup>679</sup> According to Penner, however, Puech’s interpretation of stanza 1C is influenced too heavily by 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a as well as other ancient compositions on eschatology.<sup>680</sup>

Other scholars besides Penner have also maintained that knowledge and praise with the angels can be understood as eschatological rewards experienced to some extent already in the earthly life.<sup>681</sup> I agree, for example, with Philip Alexander who argues that, while union with the heavenly congregation is fully achieved in the *eschaton*, one can experience a version of this already

<sup>678</sup> Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 79–88. Nickelsburg’s interpretation closely follows that of Kuhn; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 188–93.

<sup>679</sup> Puech, *La croyance*, 375–81. For Puech’s view, see also Émile Puech, “Immortality and Life After Death,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years of their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Conference, July 20–25, 1997*, ed. L. H. Schiffman et al. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 518. Puech argues that “raising” in stanza 1C and in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a refers to bodily resurrection. Scholars like John J. Collins and George W.E. Nickelsburg, however, are skeptical about whether the Thanksgiving Psalms indeed attest to belief in bodily resurrection; cf. John J. Collins, “The Angelic Life,” in *Metamorphoses: Resurrection, Body and Transformative Practices in Early Christianity*, ed. T. Karlsen Seim and J. Økland; Ekstasis 1 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 308–9; Nickelsburg, *Resurrection*, 192. The expression *תולעת מתים* (“a corpse-infesting maggot”) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:15 has been mistranslated by Wise et al. (“1QH<sup>a</sup>,” 53) as “bodies, covered with worms of the dead,” which strengthens the association with bodily resurrection; Stegemann & Schuller, *1QHodayot<sup>a</sup>*, 249.

<sup>680</sup> Ken Penner, “Realized or Future Salvation in the Hodayot,” *JBS* 2 (2002): 21–46.

<sup>681</sup> Collins, “The Angelic Life,” 307–9; Newman, “Covenant Renewal,” 304; Goff, “Reading Wisdom,” 283–87; cf. Penner, “Realized,” 44–45. Concerning joint angelic-human praise in the Thanksgiving Psalms, cf. Chazon, “Human and Angelic,” 35–43 and the discussion in section 2.1, above. Kuhn also discusses how knowledge is described as an eschatological gift; Kuhn, *Enderwartung*, 175.

in communal liturgy, as depicted in stanza 1C and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a.<sup>682</sup> Alexander further notes, though he refers more to the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice than to stanza 1C, that the result of purification, common praise, and closeness to God is knowledge.<sup>683</sup> The same applies to stanza 1C, which brings together and elaborates on two different traditions concerning the divine council. As discussed in section 2.1, God’s council is known as both the place of praise and the source of divine knowledge. These traditions are developed further in stanza 1C, where God’s council is depicted simultaneously as a place of praise and revelation. By being lifted up to God’s council, a person leaves behind ignorance and gains access to divine knowledge. If the speakers in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 can stand in the divine council and thus mediate God’s mysteries (cf. 2.2.3, above), the liturgical communion described in stanza 1C served as collective participation in the heavenly community that also grants access to divine knowledge. Thus, in common praise, no mediator between God and the community is needed.

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice depict a similar “liturgical movement” to that in stanza 1C. Those who wish to praise God refer to themselves as mere dust who, after purification, can participate in joyous praise.<sup>684</sup> Like Alexander, Judith Newman argues that the Sabbath Songs suggests that God’s presence and the revelation of divine knowledge can be experienced in a liturgical setting. The priests play a prophetic role in the liturgy, as they access the divine mysteries during the liturgical cycle. The praise of the priests and their utterances are divinely inspired, such that the priests act as mediators of divine knowledge. Liturgical revelation is, furthermore, a continuation of the revelation on Mount Sinai, because the songs enumerate priestly Sinai

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<sup>682</sup> Scholars have debated whether mysticism is a meaningful term for defining the kind of experience described, for example, in stanza 1C, and especially how mysticism should be defined. According to Philip Alexander, mysticism refers to a desire for union with the divine and belief that this can be gained through praxis; Philip Alexander, *The Mystical Texts: Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and Related Manuscripts*, Companion to the Qumran Scrolls (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 8–9. In the Qumran corpus, descriptions of a ritual during which one experiences transformation, ascent to heaven, and participation in the angelic liturgy seem to correspond with essential elements of the mystical tradition; James R. Davila, “Exploring the Mystical Background of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. J. J. Collins and T. H. Lim (Oxford: University Press, 2010), 434–35. The ascent is a liturgical, collective experience, where the earthly community and the angels form one praising community. Similar ideas can be also found in other sectarian compositions from the Qumran caves. In addition to the Thanksgiving Psalms, Alexander (*Mystical*, 101–3) refers to 1QS, 1QSb, and 1QM, while Davila (“Heavenly Ascents,” 476–79) refers to 1QS and 4Q510–511. For reservations about the use of the term mysticism to describe 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a, see Frennesson, “*In a Common Rejoicing*: Liturgical Communion with Angels in Qumran,” SSU 14 (Uppsala, 1999), 47–50; Chazon “Liturgical Function,” 138–39.

<sup>683</sup> Alexander, *The Mystical Texts*, 71–72, 101–10. Davila further explores the (future) eschatological dimensions of the Thanksgiving Psalms and the Songs of the Sage; Davila, “Heavenly Ascents,” 477–79.

<sup>684</sup> Newman (“Priestly Prophets,” 69–70) refers specifically to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a, but, in my view, her observation applies also to stanza 1C.

traditions, as well as some prophetic traditions.<sup>685</sup> The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifices and the Thanksgiving Psalms both draw from different traditions concerning the place of praise. Instead of using temple imagery, however, stanza 1C refers to God's council. Unlike the temple, entering and serving in God's council is not restricted to the priestly office. Thus, describing God's council as a place of praise and source of knowledge better suits the idea that the larger community can access divine knowledge without a mediator.

In summary, like 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 describes both divine knowledge and words of praise as originating from God. Together, they enable the speaker to praise God. Stanza 1C (1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17) furthermore depicts a liturgical experience wherein eschatological rewards such as divine knowledge and joint angelic-human praise can be experienced and rejoiced over already in this life. Such descriptions may have been initiated by the belief that the community members were living the final days of the world. Stanza 1C also brings together two traditions surrounding the divine council, as the divine council is depicted simultaneously as a place of praise and source of divine knowledge. As a whole, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 does not depict any human mediator of divine knowledge. Instead, the entire community is said to have direct access to divine wisdom when praising God.

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<sup>685</sup> Newman, "Priestly Prophets," 39–67, 71.

## 5. Conclusions

This dissertation has provided a deeper insight into how the transmission of divine knowledge was believed to have taken place in the late Second Temple period. This study is the first comprehensive investigation of the seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms,<sup>686</sup> psalms that have otherwise been neglected in previous studies on divination. By analyzing how the process of transmitting divine knowledge is depicted in these sources, the present study extends our knowledge about human mediators of divine knowledge, the content of supposedly divinely revealed knowledge, and the means of transmitting divine knowledge. How the transmission of divine knowledge is understood in the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms is discussed in relation to previous theories about the divinatory practices of the late Second Temple period. The present study adds to the growing body of research that examines the role of psalms in the transmission of divine knowledge. Incorporating poetic and liturgical compositions to the study of late Second-Temple divination is also important, as the findings add to our knowledge of how divine–human communication was perceived and the new ways in which these sources could have served this purpose in the late Second Temple period.

While the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms can be grouped together according to their inclusion of various sapiential themes, forms, and vocabulary, when it comes to the transmission of divine knowledge, they constitute a heterogeneous group. Four out of the seven Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 20:7–22:42) depict a teacher of wisdom as the mediator of divine knowledge. According to three other Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36; 17:38–19:5; 19:6–20:6), no mediator is needed to have access to divine knowledge. In this study, a human mediator is considered as an integral part of divination, which means that, in the case of these three Thanksgiving Psalms, one can only speak of a modified mode of divination, where divine knowledge is acquired but not transmitted from one human being to another. From an emic perspective, however, the different kinds of processes are paralleled. This is demonstrated in the similar concepts used by all seven sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms to describe the acquisition of divine knowledge. The inclusion of a human mediator seems to coincide with the inclusion of various didactic elements in the psalms.

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<sup>686</sup> These seven Thanksgiving Psalms are as follows: 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 15:29–36; 17:38–19:5; 19:6–20:6; 20:7–22:42. On the selection of sources, see 1.4, above.

## 5.1 The Transmission of Divine Knowledge

As will be explained below, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, 9:1–10:4, and 20:7–22:42 reveal how the transmission of divine knowledge was believed to have taken place and what kind of knowledge was considered to be divinely revealed. The analysis of these psalms contributes to the understanding of sapiential divination and inspired interpretation of earlier traditions as a means to transmit divine knowledge.

The psalms 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, 9:1–10:4, and 20:7–22:42 depict *teachers of wisdom as intermediaries*. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 20:7–22:42, the mediator of divine knowledge is said to be a wisdom teacher (משכיל), while, according to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, the mediator may be a sage (חכם), because the audience of the psalm is also addressed as sages (חכמים). I am against the conclusion of Armin Lange that sages are viewed negatively in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 based on the juxtaposition of “sages” with the negative word “reckless” (נמהרים). Rather, I argue that “sages” must be a positive designation, as the “sages” are called also the “righteous” (צדקים), and even נמהרים can be translated in the more positive sense of “those who are eager.” The titles משכיל (“wisdom teacher”) and חכם (“sage”) never appear in the same Thanksgiving Psalms. In addition to the use of the titles משכיל and חכם, another difference between 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 and the three Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to the wisdom teacher (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42) is that the divine spirit is not depicted as the divine mediator in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. The differences between these Thanksgiving Psalms may indicate that they were composed in a different period and/or social setting. While the role of wisdom teachers (משכיל) as teachers of divine mysteries in both sectarian and non-sectarian compositions from Qumran is well established, there are no sectarian compositions that would present the sage as a mediator of divine knowledge. In this respect, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 recalls some non-sectarian Hebrew and Aramaic compositions from the Qumran caves that depict sages (חכם in Hebrew; חכים in Aramaic) as intermediaries.

All four Thanksgiving Psalms (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 9:1–10:4; 20:7–22:42) have been categorized previously as Community Hymns, which, according to Shane Alan Berg, do not depict any human mediator of divine knowledge. According to Berg, no human mediator is needed, because all righteous ones are depicted as having access to divine knowledge through the divine

spirit. My analysis of these four Thanksgiving Psalms refutes Berg's conclusion in showing that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, 9:1–10:4, 20:7–22:42, the teachers of wisdom are in fact depicted as intermediaries, and the divine spirit acts as a divine mediator only between God and the wisdom teacher. Berg draws a sharp distinction between how the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in the so-called Community Hymns and Teacher Hymns. However, the Community Hymns and the Teacher Hymns do not in fact constitute two clearly distinguishable collections. I have demonstrated this by comparing how the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6. These two Thanksgiving Psalms have been traditionally categorized into different sub-collections within the Thanksgiving Psalms—1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 as a Community Hymn and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 as a Teacher Hymn. This comparison demonstrates that the two Thanksgiving Psalms do depict a similar process in the transmission of divine knowledge: in both psalms, the divine council is portrayed as a source of knowledge for the speaker, who can mediate divine knowledge from the council to other human beings. Thus, the two-fold division of Community Hymns and Teacher Hymns fails to inform the study of the content of the Thanksgiving Psalms, because there are both similarities and differences between the two collections as well as within them.

How the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, 9:1–10:4, and 20:7–22:42 resembles the ways in which the transmission of divine knowledge is understood in various other late Second Temple compositions (cf. 1.3, above). The evidence provided by the Thanksgiving Psalms strengthens the view that, in the late Second Temple period, some sages were believed to have been able to teach supposedly divine knowledge. In addition to the role of a sage as a human mediator, the transmission processes depicted in four Thanksgiving Psalms also share several other elements with other sources, including references to the divine council, the divine spirit, and God's mysteries. Different kinds of sages, like Enoch, Daniel, and Ben Sira, refer to the divine council to show that their knowledge has divine origins. How the divine council is referred to in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 resembles the poetic account of Sirach 24: instead of referring to visions, the wisdom teacher alludes his ability to mediate the wisdom that originates from God's council. In Sirach 24, the divine intermediary is Lady Wisdom, but, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, God's spirit functions in this role. All three Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to a wisdom teacher (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 20:7–22:42) depict God's spirit acting as a divine mediator. In Sirach 39 and in David's compositions, the sage is also portrayed as a divinely inspired mediator.

Even the term “spirit of understanding” (רוח בינה) in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:24 resembles the terms “spirit of understanding” (πνεύματι στυγέσεως) in Sirach 39:6 and “brilliant and discerning spirit” (רוח נבונה) (ואורה) in David’s Compositions (11Q5 27:4). These references to a spirit indicate that a sage could not acquire and disseminate his wisdom without divine assistance.

The psalms 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 9:1–10:4, and 20:7–22:42 also resemble 1 Enoch, Daniel, Instruction, Mysteries, and Community Rule, where divinely revealed knowledge is also depicted as *a mystery* (רז). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, 9:1–10:4, and potentially also in 20:7–22:42, the divinely revealed knowledge concerns God’s deterministic plan for his creation. How divine knowledge is understood in these psalms comes especially close to the different views presented in Instruction and Community Rule. First, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41, Instruction (4Q417 1 i), and the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26) all describe God’s deterministic plan for his creation in terms of *two diverse ways*. Second, the lexical parallels demonstrate that the two ways teaching found in Instruction (in 4Q417 1 i) was known to the authors of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and the Treatise of the Two Spirits, as has, for example, been argued by Eibert Tigchelaar. Even though 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 does not preserve any mention of the two ways,<sup>687</sup> how the divine mysteries are understood in this psalm is also influenced by 4Q417 1 i, as several previous studies have noted. The mediated message is eternal wisdom, which helps one correctly understand the world and one’s place in it. The importance of such knowledge and the centrality of the interpretation of earlier traditions in constructing sectarian identity has been demonstrated by Carol Newsom.

Together with Instruction (4Q417 1 i) and the Treatise of the Two Spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26), 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 demonstrate that the two ways teachings are not early Christian inventions, but similar kinds of long teachings were composed by Jews already in the second and first centuries BCE. While many other Second Temple compositions employ the two ways imagery only in passing, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 (together with Instruction and the Treatise of the Two Spirits) contain longer teachings about the two ways. A comparison of various two-ways passages demonstrates that determinism, covenant and creation theology, divine revelation, and/or eschatology are widely associated with the two ways, not only in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33

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<sup>687</sup> The beginning of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 preserves some language of polarity. It is possible that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 referred to the two ways, but the beginning of the psalm is so poorly preserved that no firm conclusions can be drawn (cf. 4.2.1, above).



and 7:21–8:41. These similarities suggest that the notion belonged to wider currents in early Jewish thought rather than indicating direct literary dependence, even though some two ways passages are dependent on one another. More detailed studies on various two ways passages are still needed, because the discovery of the Qumran Scrolls has brought into light many previously unknown compositions from the late Second Temple period that make use of the two ways imagery (e.g., *Genesis Apogryphon*, *Beatitudes*, and *Wiles of the Wicked Woman*; cf. 3.1, above). Further research might explore issues such as the textual relationships between the two ways teachings and the development of dualistic thought in early Judaism.

The psalms 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 express a combination of cosmic and ethical dualism found also in 4Q417 1 i and the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*. Cosmic dualism refers to the belief that the entire cosmos comprises two opposing forces. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, God is said to have set his entire creation to walk one of the two paths from the very beginning. While 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 discusses the entire creation, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 focuses on the diverse paths of human beings. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41, these forces are described in ethical terms such as goodness and wickedness. However, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 (as well as 4Q417 1 i) differ from the *Treatise of the Two Spirits* in that they lack a description of the two spirits battling within every human being, a belief Jörg Frey terms psychological dualism. However, both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 7:21–8:41 refer to the lots of human beings as being one of gradual differences between people and that a different “amount” of righteousness and wickedness can be found in each person. This discussion on the lots of mankind brings the anthropology of the Thanksgiving Psalms closer to the anthropology of the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*.

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4, the allegedly divine knowledge is formulated through the interpretation of earlier traditions.<sup>688</sup> The earlier traditions interpreted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4 concern especially the creation. As is typical for the Thanksgiving Psalms, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4 bring together various earlier traditions. For its part, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 includes language reminiscent of the first creation account, while psalms, prophetic books, and wisdom compositions are mostly used to aid in interpreting the creation. Even though the teachings concerning God’s deterministic plan resemble one another, especially in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 and 9:1–10:4, for the most part, different earlier traditions are

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<sup>688</sup> On 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42, the evidence is inconclusive (cf. 2.2.3, above). On inspired interpretation, cf. below.

interpreted in these Thanksgiving Psalms. In more than one Thanksgiving Psalm, the two ways teaching found in Instruction (4Q417 1 i), Zechariah 12:1, Psalm 135:6, and perhaps also Hymn to the Creator (11Q5 26:9–15) are interpreted. That both “biblical” and “non-biblical” compositions are interpreted in the same Thanksgiving Psalms indicates that such a division arises more from a modern conception of the Bible than from that of the late Second Temple sources. I have attempted to avoid canonical prejudices in my analysis by not automatically assuming that the influence came through the earlier traditions later canonized by Jews and Christians. Thus, it was left open whether 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 included an interpretation of Jeremiah 10:12–13 (= Jer 51:15–16) or the Hymn to the Creator (11Q5 26:9–15), which alludes to Jeremiah 10:12–13 (= Jer 51:15–16). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, there are clear references to the Hymn to the Creator, so the work could have been known also to the author of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. Furthermore, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 7:21–8:41 demonstrates that influence did not necessarily always come from earlier traditions that later became canonical. I thus agree with Esther Chazon, who argues that, in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 8:26, it is less likely that the influence came directly through Daniel 9:7 and Jeremiah 14:22 as through the Words of the Luminaries (4Q504 19:4–5) or some other liturgical work in which Daniel 9:7 and Jeremiah 14:22 had already been combined.

Eileen Schuller has suggested that some sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms have pre-sectarian origins, because they incorporate various earlier traditions found in the non-sectarian compositions. Of the psalms studied here, the most likely test case for pre-sectarian origins is 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, which, as noted above, resembles some non-sectarian compositions in its description of a sage (חכם) as a mediator of divine knowledge and in which earlier non-sectarian traditions are interpreted. Regarding the three Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to a wisdom teacher (1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33; 7:21–8:41; 20:7–22:42), it is difficult to distinguish between a sectarian and a non-sectarian literary unit/composition, as these three Thanksgiving Psalms use similar earlier traditions as Community manuscript 1QS does. Unlike other versions of the Community Rule, 1QS preserves the Treatise of the Two Spirits and a psalm (1QS 9:26–11:22). Both 1QS and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 include a two ways teaching that is influenced by Instruction. In addition, the final section of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 shares many lexical similarities with 1QS. Both the psalm of 1QS and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 begin with a similar account of the proper times of prayer that may even have a common *Vorlage*. Furthermore, the speaker of 1QS 9:26–11:22 is considered a wisdom teacher, and the style and content of the psalm resembles the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms. More research on the redactions of and the points of contact between 1QH<sup>a</sup> and 1QS are needed, as this can shed light on how both the

Community Rule and the Thanksgiving Psalms—and, subsequently, the Qumran movement—developed.

Previously, the Thanksgiving Psalms have been studied in relation to either *sapiential divination* or *inspired interpretation of earlier traditions* ignoring that the same psalms include features of both phenomena. How the transmission of divine knowledge is depicted in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4 can be characterized as sapiential divination, because these psalms portray a sage as an intermediary who passes on divinely revealed wisdom by teaching others. The sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms also use traditional prophetic language to refer to visions and auditions, yet the transmission of divine knowledge seems to be understood as an intellectual process, whereby God opens the person’s mind up to understanding. The interpretation of earlier traditions is not mentioned in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4, but, when the sections that describe supposedly divine knowledge are analyzed, I have argued that this knowledge is created through the implicit interpretation of earlier traditions (on this phenomenon, cf. also below). The results of my analysis contradict those of Alex P. Jassen, who has examined the Thanksgiving Psalms only in terms of “sapiential revelation” and according to whom “sapiential revelation” and “inspired exegesis” are separate phenomena. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4, however, divine knowledge is acquired and transmitted through the implicit interpretation of earlier traditions, but, instead of making this process visible, the transmission of divine knowledge is described as a sapiential revelatory process. Further research should be undertaken to investigate the different ways in which sages are portrayed acquiring and transmitting divine knowledge in Second Temple compositions and how these descriptions relate to existing definitions of sapiential divination and inspired interpretation. Especially two sapiential compositions from the second century BCE, Instruction and the Book of Ben Sira, could shed light on the issue, as both compositions include various kinds of teachings as well as depictions on how a wise individual might gain wisdom (cf., e.g., Sir 39; 4Q417 1 i; 4Q418 77, 81+81a).

In the study of inspired interpretation, much research has been done on explicit interpretation, especially concerning the commentaries called the *pesharim* found in the Qumran caves. Because the interpretation of earlier traditions in the *pesharim* is explicit (the interpretation is separated from the lemma), and the root פִּשַׁר relates the *pesharim* to other forms of divination (dream and omen interpretation), it is not difficult to see the interpretation of earlier traditions in the *pesharim* as one form of divination. Although interpretation of earlier traditions is done

implicitly in the Thanksgiving Psalms, the function of interpretation is the same as in the *pesharim*. In fact, previous studies have demonstrated that, while many Thanksgiving Psalms are allusive in nature, in the case of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4, the interpretation of earlier traditions is not just a poetic device. Rather, one can speak of inspired interpretation, because divine knowledge has been formulated through interpretation of earlier traditions. Previously, Judith Newman has also argued that the wisdom teacher (משכיל) acts as an inspired interpreter in the three Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to the wisdom teacher, but further studies of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 demonstrated that this phenomenon is not restricted to the Thanksgiving Psalms attributed to the wisdom teacher. Research on the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms has further directed scholars to study the role of psalms in the inspired interpretation of earlier traditions, a phenomenon that is not restricted to the Thanksgiving Psalms, but serves as a form of divination, for instance, in the Barkhi Nafshi hymns and Psalms of Solomon, as Mika S. Pajunen has demonstrated (cf. 1.3.3, above). The sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms offer important evidence on this matter, as they are more explicit about the divinely inspired nature of the interpretation than other poetic compositions.

My analysis of the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms also strengthens the view that, in the late Second Temple period, divination included both *inductive and intuitive aspects*. The sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms relate similar intuitive elements to the transmission of divine knowledge as do classical prophetic books of the Hebrew Bible, including the use of traditional prophetic language like references to visions and auditions, as well as the belief in divine inspiration through God's spirit. Nonetheless, the transmission of divine knowledge requires also elements that are more at home with inductive than with intuitive divination, including the education of the human intermediary and the need of material supplies, such as scrolls containing older compositions and writing equipment. In addition, divine messages cannot be mediated by just anyone; the transmission process requires the skills of a scribe and a sage. In sum, the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms demonstrate continuity and similarities with earlier prophetic traditions. However, transmission of divine knowledge, as depicted in the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, can more legitimately said to be a form of divination than of prophecy, since the inductive elements present in the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms do not cohere with the heading of prophecy.

## 5.2 Revealed Wisdom as a Prerequisite for Praising God

The psalms 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6 are analyzed together in chapter 4, because they share a common theme: all describe divinely revealed knowledge as a prerequisite for praising God. These psalms contribute to our understanding of the importance of divine knowledge in praising God as well as in eschatological beliefs. As for the transmission of divine knowledge, these psalms present different kinds of processes.

In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6, there is no human mediator. In this respect, they differ from 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. Both 1QH<sup>a</sup> 17:38–19:5 and 19:6–20:6 depict the speaker as well as a wider group, called either the “children of God’s truth” or the “children of God’s good favor,” as recipients of divine knowledge. Especially in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6, the speaker is equated with the wider community. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36, while there is no mention of such a wider group, there is also no indication that the speaker would act as a mediator of divine knowledge. One possible explanation for why 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6 do not depict any human mediator, while the other four sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms do, is that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6 lack didactic elements: none of these psalms includes a references to teaching or teachers, nor is the audience given exhortations. Furthermore, while references are made to having access to divine knowledge, the content of this knowledge is not recounted in these psalms. Rather, gaining access to divine knowledge is described as something to be experienced and celebrated in the liturgical life of the community.

Like various Second Temple compositions, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, 15:29–36, 17:38–19:5, and 19:6–20:6 depict the praise of God as the center of liturgical life. Having access to divine knowledge is needed because such praise must include a contemplation of God’s deeds, everyone praising God according to their knowledge. The most illustrative example of this is provided by 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, where God is praised as creator, but the creation itself is said to encompass divine mysteries. Thus, only those to whom God has revealed his mysteries can praise God fully. It is possible that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 describes the praising God as a practice that had been established already in the creation, as is the case in Jubilees, the Book of Ben Sira, Admonition on the Flood, Festival Prayers, and perhaps also Non-Canonical Psalms B, as Mika S. Pajunen has argued. Because the Thanksgiving Psalms are sectarian compositions, they do not restrict the ability to praise God only to Israel but to an even smaller fraction of Israel that has access to the divine mysteries. The psalm 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 further resembles especially the views presented in the Jubilees (Jub 2:16–33), the Book of Ben Sira

(Sir 17:9–10), and the Berakhot (4Q286 2 and 7i) in its description of the elect praising God for his deeds in creation. However, compared to these compositions, the emphasis on divinely revealed knowledge is a distinct feature in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4. Contrary to expectations, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4 does not preserve any references to joint angelic-human praise, even though this is a common topic in the Thanksgiving Psalms and is discussed together with praise and election in many other sources originating from the late Second Temple period.

The psalm 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:6–20:6 emphasizes the importance of praising and that divinely revealed knowledge is a part of eschatological beliefs. Because the praise of God was a central aspect of Jewish life in the late Second Temple period, it is no wonder that praise is depicted as taking place also in the eschatological future. However, further research should be undertaken to explore how widely among Second Temple period compositions praising God is considered as an element of eschatological beliefs and whether this is a distinctive feature found mostly in poetic compositions.

The divine council is a persuasive model for understanding the divine sphere in the Thanksgiving Psalms, because it is traditionally connected to both divination and praising God (cf. 2.1, above). In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17, two aspects of the divine council are combined in the psalm's depiction of God's council simultaneously as a source of divine knowledge and as a place of praise: God is said to lift a person to his council, an act that marks also access to God's understanding. As a result, this person come to be able to praise God together with the divine beings and with others who have knowledge. If the teachers of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 12:6–13:6 and 1QH<sup>a</sup> 20:7–22:42 can stand in the divine council and thus mediate God's mysteries, the liturgical communion, as described in 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17, must be a collective participation in the heavenly community that also denotes access to divine knowledge. In common praise, no mediator is needed between God and the community. In 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 11:21b–24a is reworked, and, in so doing, divinely revealed knowledge becomes more central. Like 1QH<sup>a</sup> 9:1–10:4, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17 emphasizes election and divinely revealed knowledge as prerequisites for praising God, though 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17 does not draw clear distinctions between past, present, and future events, making it difficult to tell whether sanctification, union with the divine beings, being raised up, taking one's place before God, and renewal take place already in this life or later in the eschatological future. I do, at any rate, agree with Ken Penner who argues that 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17 simultaneously expresses belief in realized and future eschatology by intentionally associating past and present with the future. Penner's view is

supported also by other scholars, who maintain that, according to 1QH<sup>a</sup> 19:13b–17, future rewards can be experienced to some extent already in this life. This conclusion is supported also by other Thanksgiving Psalms and sectarian compositions, according to which joint angelic-human praise and access to divine knowledge can be experienced through the liturgical life of the community. Further studies would be needed to determine the role of the divine council in both praising God and acquiring wisdom, possible sources for which might include the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Berakhot, as both compositions contain the word סִדָּר, often used when discussing the disclosure of divine knowledge from God's council (cf., e.g., 4Q286 frag. 1a ii; 4Q286 frag. 7a I; 4Q403 frag. 1 i).

### 5.3 Use of Psalms in Divination

The psalms 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4 not only describe the transmission of divine knowledge but could also have themselves functioned as *vehicles in its transmission*. This observation is based on the inclusion in these psalms of sections in which the supposedly divine knowledge is recounted. However, closer study of the role these psalms played in transmitting divine knowledge is challenging because we know very little about how the Thanksgiving Psalms were used. Furthermore, there is no need to limit the Thanksgiving Psalms to one function, as they could have been used in various ways.

The process of transmitting divine knowledge can, for instance, be examined as part of scribal culture, wherein scribes studied, interpreted, and reproduced the Thanksgiving Psalms and the mysteries that were in them. The composition of individual psalms as well as of collections containing different numbers of Thanksgiving Psalms testify to the practice of scribes transmitting the psalms by copying, interpreting, and composing. This process was unlikely to have existed without some form of oral transmission, but the manuscript evidence shows that, at some point, the psalms were also mediated in written form.

The psalms 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4, where supposedly divine knowledge is recounted, may testify to a mixture of liturgical, didactic, and divinatory functions. Especially the opening strophe of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 indicates that blessing God and teaching could have taken place simultaneously by reciting the psalm, as Daniel Falk has suggested. In addition to serving liturgical and didactic functions, 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 can also be described as serving a divinatory function, because the teaching of 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33 is not just any kind of wisdom but divinely

revealed wisdom. Therefore, divine knowledge could have been transmitted by reciting the psalm. Indeed, in these psalms, the divine mysteries are simultaneously words from God as well as words of praise to God. While several questions remain unanswered, comparative studies of the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms and the Barkhi Nafshi hymns and Psalms of Solomon—sources that purport to contain divinely revealed knowledge—could foster a better understanding of how psalms were used in divination. The psalms 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:33, 7:21–8:41, and 9:1–10:4 can, for instance, be compared also to sectarian Songs of the Sage (4Q510–511), where the wisdom teacher acts as an exorcist by reciting songs. Like the sapiential Thanksgiving Psalms, the Songs of the Sage raises questions concerning the mixture of liturgical and divinatory/magical functions. In the late Second Temple period, psalms were not necessarily intended to be use for exclusively liturgical, didactic, or divinatory/magical use but seemed to serve a combination of such functions.

Reciting 1QH<sup>a</sup> 5:12–6:3, 7:21–8:41, 9:1–10:4, and 20:7–22:42 could also be understood as a spiritual exercise for the teacher of wisdom that prepared him for his role as a mediator of divine knowledge. Prayer and the contemplation of God’s mysteries could have induced a suitable spiritual state in the teacher, enabling him to receive divine knowledge from God. In this respect, these Thanksgiving Psalms share many similarities with the Book of Ben Sira, where, according to Judith Newman, prayer serves as a dialogue between the sage and God through which revelation can be obtained. Based on the four Thanksgiving Psalms, one cannot deduce one single procedure that would have led to the reception of divine knowledge, but these psalms do describe many similar acts as those in Sirach 39:5–7, including asking for forgiveness, seeking a spirit of understanding, producing one’s own wisdom, meditating God’s mysteries, and giving thanks to God. These similarities demonstrate a shared understanding of how divinely revealed knowledge was obtained and transmitted. Like Ben Sira, the wisdom teacher also served as a model for prayer: the wisdom teacher is a Moses-like intermediary who supplicates God on behalf of others, as Newman has also demonstrated. Not only Greek sages but also Jewish sages in the Hellenistic-Roman era were presented as such models to be emulated by others. While the ideals presented in the Thanksgiving Psalms could be seen as setting an example for all other members of the community, the role of intermediary was probably not open to everyone, preserved instead for a teacher.

As for future research on divination, this study raises several issues concerning methodology. To develop a fuller picture of how divine knowledge was believed to have been transmitted in the Second Temple period, studies on a wide variety of compositions are needed.



This study has suggested also the use of a certain definition of divination (see 1.2, above) as an analytical tool, since the applicability of the concept to various cultures and time periods would allow for better comparative studies on divination. This definition of divination invites the scholar to examine, for example, how the different components in the transmission of the divine knowledge (God, message, human mediator, and recipients) are depicted, as well as to note both inductive and intuitive elements in the transmission of divine knowledge in the Second Temple period. In addition to clear definitions of divination, it is necessary also to qualify how the source engages with divination. For instance, does the source describe how divination is believed to have taken place, or is the source itself involved in the transmission of divine knowledge? Does the source contain knowledge that was considered to be divinely revealed—on what grounds? Both detailed studies on individual sources as well as comparative studies are needed to answer these questions. This study has demonstrated, for instance, that the study of psalms illuminates various issues related to divination in the late Second Temple period. Many of these features are not restricted to psalms, and, therefore, psalms should not be studied in isolation but together with other roughly contemporary sources interested in the transmission of divine knowledge.

## Bibliographical Abbreviations

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| AB      | Anchor Bible  |
| AOAT    | Alter Orient und Altes Testament                                      |
| BETL    | Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologiarum Lovaniensium                     |
| BZAW    | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft       |
| BZNW    | Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft       |
| CBET    | Contributions to Biblical Exegesis & Theology                         |
| CBR     | Currents in Biblical Research   |
| CHAN    | Culture and History of the Ancient Near East                          |
| CJAS    | Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series                          |
| DCLS    | Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies                       |
| DSD     | Dead Sea Discoveries  |
| DOTP    | Dictionary of the Old Testament Prophets                              |
| EBib    | Etudes bibliques  |
| EDSS    | Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls                                  |
| EJL     | Early Judaism and Its Literature                                      |
| FRLANT  | Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments |
| GTA     | Göttinger theologische Arbeiten                                       |
| HdO     | Handbook of Oriental Studies  |
| HeBAI   | Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel                                       |
| HTS     | Harvard Theological Studies   |
| JAJSup  | Journal of Ancient Judaism Supplements                                |
| JBL     | Journal of Biblical Literature  |
| JBS     | Journal of Biblical Studies   |
| JJS     | Journal of Jewish Studies   |
| JSJ     | Journal for the Study of Judaism                                      |
| JSOTSup | Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series          |
| JSPSup  | Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series             |
| LHBOTS  | Library of Hebrew Bible/ Old Testament Studies                        |
| LSTS    | The Library of Second Temple Studies                                  |
| OBO     | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis  |
| OtSt    | Oudtestamentische studiën   |
| PFES    | Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society                        |
| RevQ    | Revue de Qumran   |
| SAAS    | State Archives of Assyria Studies                                     |
| SBLSymS | Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series                       |
| SDSS    | Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature                |
| SJOT    | Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament                             |
| SSU     | Studia Semitica Upsaliensia   |
| STDJ    | Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah                           |
| StudOr  | Studia Orientalia   |
| stUNT   | Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments                               |
| SupJSJ  | Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism                   |
| SupVT   | Supplements to Vetus Testamentum                                      |
| TBN     | Themes in Biblical Narrative  |
| TSAJ    | Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism                                  |
| VT      | Vetus Testamentum   |

WUNT      Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament  
ZAW      Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

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